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RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF INDIA.

It cannot seem inappropriate to the present time to devote a few pages of the Christian Reformer to this subject.

It is not our purpose even to glance at the history of our possession of India. It dropped, as it were, into the hands of a Company of English traders who had neither the thought nor the means of its deliberate conquest. The abilities of Clive and Hastings were aided and tempted on by strange opportunity and almost more strange good fortune. There may be much to make us blush in the review of that history. But India is ours; and must, even for its own sake, remain ours. It cannot (if we wished) be restored to the state in which we found it, nor to the hands of the rulers who held it before us. Nor, if this were possible, would it be desirable. The very lowest praise that can be awarded to our administration is, that it has been far better than that of the rulers whom we displaced. Nor should it be forgotten, that they were not properly *native* governments which were so displaced by us, but those of foreign conquerors; and that those Mahometan rulers would beyond a doubt have been overthrown by the French, if they had not been by the English. The question at that time was simply whether England or France was to govern India. That the French were aiming at its conquest does not indeed make our conquest just. No more does the previous ascendancy of the Moguls over the native Hindoos. But the recollection of these facts of the case forbids us to speak of our acquisition of India as the extinction of a free nation's institutions; while the details of those strange events by which our rule grew beyond all usual proportion of results to means employed, make it difficult to point out, even in retrospect, precisely when and how England could or ought to have absolved herself from the responsibility of the perilous acquisition.

Nor do we propose, in these observations, to investigate the causes of the Indian mutiny or revolt, except as connected with the religious aspects of India. The "greased cartridges" can hardly be admitted as anything more than a plea or pretext for that which had a deeper source somewhere. Nor can we find that deeper source just where the zeal of Exeter Hall desires to

detect it, in the neglect of the British Government to promote and patronize Christianity in India. It may be true that the East-Indian Government (adopting the sordid mercantile policy which from the first has done more than simply abstain from insulting the wretched idolatries of the Hindoos) has not, even yet, put native Christian converts on a level with native idolaters in the chances of civil or military promotion. But the fact is one thing; the suggested inference is a very different thing. The neglected native Christians have certainly not been the leaders of the revolt; nor perhaps could any surer means be taken for converting a revolt that is chiefly military (and is merely local where otherwise than military) into a properly national rebellion, than to adopt the suggested method of christianizing India perforce. True Christian zeal, not less than justice and sound policy, will deprecate the suggested crusade, while demanding full freedom of Christian citizenship and the suppression of idolatrous immoralities and cruelties by the firm and generally welcome hand of civilized authority.

How can one touch the India question, from a religious point of view especially, without a few suitable, however feeble, words on that fearful topic, War! The Indian revolt has shewn it in all its blackest horrors. What is called civilized war is horrible enough, though in it are clearly recognized the claims of humanity, of mercy, of respect and tenderness, towards captives and wounded enemies, towards the unarmed, towards women and children; and in which mutilation and torture are things impossible. The sepoys have revived what to civilized Europe were the long-forgotten atrocities of barbarous warfare. Making war more horrible than ever in our eyes, they have also shewn it to our convictions as a stern necessity on our part. Never may war find any other vindication from Christian or English lips, than as a stern, inevitable necessity;—necessary for the protection of life, liberty or high honour! But the Indian revolt has also made conspicuous the virtues which, in strong contrast with the crimes and vices of war, are always developed into heroism alike of action and endurance by circumstances of awe and danger, whether of this or of any other kind. What patient hope have our countrywomen exercised; what resolute endurance; what bravery of defence; what sublimity of martyrdom! The name of the honoured, loved and much-mourned Havelock is the present answer to the often debated question—if it needs answer still—Whether a real Christian can be a soldier. Some of the early Christians refused, on this plea of conscience, to serve in the Roman armies; and our own day has seen a devoted Christian resign, on the same ground, his commission as an English Captain. A saying of the Duke of Wellington's is current, to the effect that he did not like to have Methodists in his camp, implying the conviction on his part that the more evident signs

of a religious profession were not to his taste as a soldier. But Havelock's conscientious adherence to adult baptism,* and his administration of the rite to some of his men, having drawn upon him and them the notice of his superior officer, so exemplary appeared to be, on inquiry, the conduct and discipline of his soldiers, that the commanding officer is said to have dismissed his informant with, "Tell Havelock I wish he would baptize all the regiment!" Would that all our commanders had the religious spirit of Havelock, and our whole army the discipline and good conduct of his men! The time would be nearer when our standing army would be truly a national police and no more. We should find less occasion for any but defensive and protective wars. We should indeed, at this moment, be doing just as we are doing in India,—though perhaps differently from what we are doing in China.

But to the more immediate subject before us,—the religious aspects of India. What is its religious condition? And what rational hope is there of its Christianization?

The religions of India are two, the Brahminism of the native Hindoos, and the imported Mahometanism of their Tartar conquerors.

The Brahminical system is founded, as its own sages have shewn (and as most of our readers know quite well), on the primary belief in a supreme if not spiritual Deity; and many elevated and pure rules of faith and morals are to be found in their sacred books. But the Hindoo (like the orthodox Christian) worships a Trinity in this Unity of the Supreme Being. There are three persons or manifestations in his Godhead,—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Shiva the Destroyer. And truly, if one must compare Trinity with Trinity, there seems a sort of philosophical completeness in the Hindoo Trinity which that of Christians wants. We speak, in the language of the Common Prayer and in that of common Christian thought, of *Creation*, *Preservation* and *Redemption*, as the three great comprehensive relations which the Divine Being sustains towards us; and if the persons of the Christian Trinity were those respectively of Creator, Preserver and Redeemer, we might say there was at least a completeness and comprehensiveness in the scheme which might warrant some pretension to its being received as a Christian philosophy. But the Father as Creator, the Son as Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost as Sanctifier, do not simply and thoroughly cover the great relations of God to man as

* Is it generally known that Havelock married the daughter of Dr. Marshman, the head for many years of the Baptist College at Serampoor, and the indefatigable translator of the Scriptures into various Hindoo dialects? The name of his son, the present Baronet, Sir Henry *Marshman* Havelock, memorializes this fact to those who are familiar with the history of Baptist missions in India, and to others who will recognize the name of Rammohun Roy's "mild and Christian-like" opponent in controversy.

revealed in the gospel. The perpetual function of Providence is omitted in this creed, and that of Redemption is divided or repeated. The Hindoo philosophy, knowing nothing of Redemption, is complete in its own distribution: Creation, Providence, Destruction. Let Christianity offer Redemption and Everlasting Life in the place of the last, and its Trinity of Persons or of Functions might seem, even in the eye of the Hindoo, as well as in that of Christian philosophy, to constitute a higher, happier and more worthy belief. But, as it is, the philosophical Hindoo sees in it no such claim upon his adoption. Meanwhile, the popular faith and worship of the Hindoos has little reference to any such speculative theology. It is gross, stupid, senseless idolatry, of the worst and most degraded kind. Vishnu had become incarnate in a hundred different forms; and every possible power or thing or thought in heaven and earth has been also deified. The Hindoo deities are innumerable; their images loathsome; their worship degrading and brutalizing.

The Mahometanism of the once ruling and still ascendant races contrasts strongly with this low and imbecile idolatry, by its uncompromising acknowledgment of One God supreme and invisible, the God of Moses and of Jesus; and by its absolute rejection of images and sacrificial worship. But the Mahometanism of India is as idle, dull-hearted and superstitious as such a faith can be made by contact with the vices of the Asiatic character, added to those of its own origin.

Now what right have orthodox Christians to expect success to their missions in India, either with the Hindoo or the Mahometan population? How can they reasonably feel surprise at their little success? The Hindoo idolater thinks his Trinity as good as theirs; and when they come to expound the Incarnation of the Second Person, he asks with contemptuous wonder, "Is that all? Our Vishnu had a hundred incarnations (perhaps a thousand); yours, you say, had only one! Vishnu is greater than Christ!" The more philosophical Hindoo meanwhile finds a higher Theism in his Veds; and the scornful Mahometan laughs at the Hindoo and Christian Trinities as equally idolatrous, exclaiming with his usual assurance of faith, "God is God, and Mahomet is his Prophet."

If there is any class of Christians that might hope to meet the religious ideas and feelings of the Hindoos, as it were, from their own point of view, they must be the Roman Catholics, who to the worship of the Trinity add that of the Virgin and all the Saints, and whose ceremonial makes great use of outward show. But what was the testimony of the Catholic missionary in Mysore, the Abbé Dubois, who wrote in 1823 the sad record of his thirty-two years' missionary life, and expressed his utter hopelessness?

"Seeing the empire of the senses over these people (he says), and that their imagination was only to be roused by strongly moving objects,

the first missionaries among them judged that some advantage might result to the cause of religion by accommodating themselves, as far as possible, to their dispositions. Agreeably to this idea, the ordinary pomp and pageantry which attend the Catholic worship, so objectionable to the Protestant communions in general, were not judged by them striking enough to make a sufficient impression on the gross minds of the Hindoos. They in consequence incumbered the Catholic worship with an additional superstructure of outward show, unknown in Europe, which in many instances does not differ much from that prevailing among the Gentiles, and which is far from proving a subject of edification to many a good and sincere Roman Catholic.

"This Hindoo pageantry is chiefly seen in the festivals celebrated by the native Christians. Their processions in the streets, always performed in the night time, have indeed been to me at all times a subject of shame. Accompanied with hundreds of *tom-toms* (small drums), trumpets, and all the discordant noisy music of the country; with numberless torches and fire-works; the statue of the Saint placed on a car which is charged with garlands of flowers and other gaudy ornaments, according to the taste of the country,—the car slowly dragged by a multitude shouting all along the march—the congregation surrounding the car all in confusion, several among them dancing, or playing with small sticks or with naked swords; some whistling, some playing the fool; all shouting or conversing with each other, without any one exhibiting the least sign of respect or devotion. Such is the mode in which the Hindoo Christians of the inland country celebrate their festivals. They are celebrated, however, with a little more decency on the coast. They are all exceedingly pleased with such a mode of worship, and anything short of such pageantry, such confusion and disorder, would not be liked by them." (Dubois' Letters on the State of Christianity in India, pp. 68—70.)

And then the Abbé adds that he did not like this sort of thing himself, but was only looked upon "as a kind of free-thinker and a dangerous innovator" for his remarks to that effect, and that he was obliged to wink at it in spite of his own "vexation and disgust." This writer came to the conclusion that the propagation of Christianity in India was a quite hopeless effort, there being such obstacles to its reception there, as exist in no other country in the world. The power of its priesthood and their subtle system of priestcraft is one obstacle assigned by him; the institution of Caste, according to him (and in the opinion of all missionaries since his time), is another and the principal one. As the sad summary of his own fruitless labours, he says (p. 134):

"During the long period I have lived in India in the capacity of a missionary, I have made, with the assistance of a native missionary, in all between 200 and 300 converts of both sexes. Of this number, two-thirds were pariahs or beggars; and the rest were composed of *sudras*, vagrants and outcasts of several tribes, who, being without resource, turned Christians, in order to form new connections chiefly for the purpose of marriage, or with some other interested views. Among them are to be found some also who believed themselves to be possessed by the

devil, and who turned Christians, after having been assured that on their receiving baptism the unclean spirits would leave them, never to return; and I will declare it with shame and confusion, that I do not remember any one who may be said to have embraced Christianity from conviction and through quite disinterested motives. Among these new converts many apostatized and relapsed into Paganism, finding that the Christian religion did not afford them the temporal advantages they had looked for in embracing it; and I am verily ashamed that the resolution I have taken to declare the whole truth on this subject forces me to make the humiliating avowal that those who continued Christians are the very worst among my flock."

More recent missionaries, of orthodox Protestant denominations, have met with little better success than the Abbé Dubois; and all have agreed with him in regarding the Hindoo institution of Caste as the great obstacle. It is indeed a tremendous obstacle, not only to the Christianization, but, equally and before that, to the civilization of the Hindoos. The law of nature itself has indeed instituted caste in a certain sense and to a certain degree; in so far, that is, as rank and class, taste and occupation, become hereditary in families, through the power of circumstance, habit and convenience. But it is equally the law of nature that those who are characterized by various tastes and talents in a family should, with favouring opportunity, betake themselves to different occupations from those of the paternal home; that talent and industry should raise their possessors into a higher class, and want of power, character or effort, sink them into a lower one. In a free country like ours, such instances become so numerous on both hands (while the gifts of fortune and the blows of misfortune also operate so freely), that change of class and occupation seems no longer the exception, but the rule rather, in some circles of our stirring life. In India, on the contrary, caste is not as nature made it; but is hardened by law and tradition into an all but impassable barrier against improvement. Talent, power, industry, character, are paralyzed. The hope of "bettering one's condition," which is the spring of energy and the source of half the social virtues among a free people, dies at the touch of Hindoo caste.

The chief distinctions of Hindoo caste are, as is well known, four, as intimately connected with their theology: (1.) The *Brahmins* represent, or proceeded from, the head of Brum, the supreme deity. They are the priests, physicians, philosophers, teachers. Head-work is theirs, but not handiwork. They are to live upon the religious offerings of the other castes. They may even beg, but they must not work. (2.) The *Kshastryas*, proceeding from the arms and shoulders of Brum, are the soldier caste. (3.) The *Vaisyas*, from his body and thighs, are the artisans and traders. (4.) The *Sudras*, from his feet, are the servile labourers. A man of any caste may lose it and fall into

a lower; but none can rise into a higher. Even the Sudra may lose caste and become an outcast. Such is the Hindoo idea; and such to a great extent the practice. But Hindoo caste is not so utterly insuperable as it has commonly been represented. This will appear presently, as we pursue our purpose of tracing the signs of religious hope for India which orthodox missionaries have been too apt to ignore. There have been, in short, at various times in long past history, and there now are existing in increased vitality and hopefulness, native tendencies and native efforts of a most interesting and hopeful kind, towards a purer faith.

So long ago as the beginning of the 15th century a sect was founded by one Kabir, who assailed the whole system of idolatrous worship, and exerted great influence, both directly and indirectly, upon his countrymen. But his doctrine became chiefly influential a century later in the hands of Nanak Shah, who founded the sect, which became afterwards the tribe, of the Sikhs. Nanak was born in Lahore, A.D. 1469; and the following is the account given of him in the Penny Cyclopædia (article Hindoostan), as derived from Malcolm's sketch of the Sikhs in the Asiatic Researches:

"He attempted to reconcile the religion of the Mohammedans and Hindus, by recalling them to the consideration of the tenet in which they both believed, namely, the *Unity of God*. 'I am sent,' he said, 'to the Mohammedans to reconcile your jarring faiths; and I implore you to read the Hindu Scriptures as well as your own; but reading is useless without obedience to the doctrine taught: for God has said, no man shall be saved except he has performed good works. The Almighty will not ask to what tribe or persuasion he belongs; he will only ask what he has done.' Nanak gained many proselytes, and his doctrines continued to spread in peace for two centuries. But in the beginning of the 17th century, their numbers excited the jealousy of the Mohammedan government; and from that time the Sikhs may be considered as an armed people. A series of bloody contentions ensued; in which the Sikhs were at first intirely crushed; but Gura Govind gave a new character to the religion of the followers of Nanak, *by the complete abolition of the system of castes*, wisely judging that the only means by which he could ever hope to oppose the Mohammedan government with success was by *admitting individuals of every caste to the profession of arms*. His plan succeeded to a greater extent than might have been expected; immense numbers of the lower castes joined his ranks; and on the downfall of the Mogul government, the Sikhs obtained possession of the greater part of the northern and north-western provinces of Hindustan. Malcolm describes the present faith of the Sikhs as 'a creed of pure Deism, grounded on the most sublime general truths; blended with the belief of all the absurdities of Hindu mythology and the fables of Mohammedanism.' The Sikhs reject the authority of the Vedas, Puranas, and all other religious books of the Hindus; eat all kinds of flesh, except that of cows; willingly admit proselytes from every caste; and consider the profession of arms the religious duty of every individual.

An interesting account of this sect is given in Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XI. pp. 197—292)."

This account of the Sikhs is, in two points of view, important as bearing favourably on the religious aspect of India. It is one of many native movements towards a purer faith. It is also one of many proofs that caste is not impregnable. Full of emphatic instruction are the facts which we have marked with italics in the above statement. Nanak's experience should not be lost upon us. He set caste at defiance, with perfect success, in the composition of his army. If we had done the same in the composition of our sepoy army in India, we might, by this time, have broken down caste throughout the land. The distinction of being a British soldier would have swallowed up and practically destroyed all the paltry Hindoo superstitions and precedencies within the limits of the army. But instead of this, we have taken Brahmins into our army, and then allowed them not only to insist that no other caste shall enter, but to require all sorts of paltry caste indulgences and humourings at our hands. Nanak knew better.

Has it ever occurred to our readers to wonder how it is that we have Brahmins at all in our Indian army? The priestly, learned, philosophical caste, to whom manual labour is forbidden, enlisting as soldiers in the English army! And what is become of the Hindoo soldier caste, the Kshasthyas, who came from the arms of Brum! Why are not they our soldiers? The explanation is curious on both hands. The Kshasthyas do not now exist as a caste in India. The Brahmins say they are extinct, having been destroyed by Parasu Rama, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu, and their land bestowed upon the Brahmins. A far more credible story is, that in the long freedom of the country from foreign invasion, they had little to do as soldiers, and made themselves into a separate tribe or tribes, as the Rajpoots and the Nairs in the Deccan in all probability belong to this class. (Penny Cyclopædia, Vol. XII. p. 231.) And how then come the Brahmins to be soldiers? To descend voluntarily to the occupation of the second caste! How is this reconcilable with Brahminical scruples? The answer is—Brahminical scruples are flexible at every point. There is no scruple about a greased cartridge when it is to be fired at an Englishman in the present revolt. But, in fact, the privileged class in India have (as elsewhere) overreached themselves. Their caste immunities have become painful disqualifications. They are too numerous to live upon their own inherited property and upon the free gifts of the other orders. They beg, as not involving the degradation of manual work; and they interpret with greater and greater freedom the law or usage which prohibits them from manual work. And soldiering being regarded as, on the whole, a gentlemanly style of thing, the poor Brahmins who must not trade or toil for an honest livelihood, so far modify their inter-

pretation of caste prohibitions as to enter our army, provided they may observe their caste distinctions under our sanction, and exclude from society with them their countrymen of the lower castes. How is it that we have been so long in understanding the flexibility, while marvelling at the asserted rigidity, of Brahminical caste? Our military system, of itself, might have broken through this curse of India, by offering equal duties, rights and regulations, without regard to caste.

The history of a more recent native effort at religious reform is still fresh in the memory of middle-aged Unitarians in this country. Rammohun Roy, a high-caste Brahmin, born in 1780, wealthy and learned, through earnest study of the Hindoo sacred books, arrived at the conviction that their central and essential principle is the acknowledgment of One Supreme Deity,—and that this faith is easily separable from all the later accretions of Hindoo mythology and idolatry. When about twenty-five years of age, he published the result of his researches in a work in Persian, with a preface in Arabic, intitled, “Against the Idolatry of all Nations.” This work gave great offence; but he pursued his studies and repeated his efforts, translating out of the Sanscrit into the common Bengalee and Hindoo languages, the “Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds,” and also an abstract of the Vedant which he circulated gratuitously. In conjunction with other liberal-minded Hindoos, he organized a worshipping society in Calcutta in 1828, which they called the Brahm Sumaj, or assembly of the worshipers of Brahm, the Supreme God. While pursuing his researches into the religious and moral writings accounted sacred by different nations, he was attracted and impressed by the dignity and purity of the Christian Gospels, and soon perceived that the “doctrines of Christ were more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other which had come to his knowledge.” But the doctrine of the Trinity repulsed him as much as the Polytheism of the Hindoos; till, on further acquaintance with the Christian Scriptures, he found that doctrine foreign to them, and became a Unitarian Christian. He travelled to England in the desire at once of seeing her civilized institutions and of mingling with his Christian brethren, the English Unitarians. In England, alas! he died in 1833. During his absence from India, the Brahm Sumaj languished and declined. But in 1839, a similar outward expression was given in India to the same enlightened views of Hindoo faith, only on a more extended scale of operations, including branch societies and schools. An interesting account of this revival of the native Hindoo Theistical worship is contained in the *Quarterly Journal of the American Unitarian Association* for November last, from which we copy. These reformed Hindoos do not relinquish caste, but they do not make its requirements prominent. They hold trans-

migration of souls as a kind of purgatory or punishment for those who are not ready at death to be admitted to the presence of Brahm. And they hold inferior gods, much in the light in which the English Catholic regards his saints and angels. The further account of them is as follows :

"Their religious principles, as published in the authorized exponent of their system, are the following :—

"1. Before the production of this world, there existed only the Supreme Brahm; nothing else existed whatsoever; He created all things.

"2. He is wisdom, eternity, joy, and goodness, personified; the everlasting ruler of all; all-wise; without form; one only, without a second; most wonderful in power.

"3. From his worship alone is happiness produced, both here and hereafter.

"4. That worship consists in loving him, and performing actions which give him pleasure.

"Their simple form of initiation consists in subscribing to the following declaration of their principles :

"1. This day, the — day of the month of —, in the year —, I adopt the religion of the worshippers of Brahm.

"2. I will live devoted to the worship of that Supreme Brahm, who is the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer of the universe; the cause of deliverance; all-wise; all-pervading; full of joy; the good; and without form. I will worship him with love, and by doing what will give him pleasure.

"3. I will worship no created thing as the Supreme Brahm, the Creator of all.

"4. Except on days of sickness or calamity, I will every day, when my mind shall be at rest, in faith and love fix my thoughts on the Supreme.

"5. I will live earnest in the practice of good deeds.

"6. I will endeavour to live free from evil deeds.

"7. If, overcome by temptation, I perchance do anything evil, I will surely desire to be freed from it, and be careful for the future.

"8. Every year, and in all worldly prosperity, I will offer gifts to the Brahm Sumaj.

"O God, grant unto me strength, that I may entirely observe this excellent religion."

"Since the time of Rammohun Roy, there have arisen twenty-four societies of this order, ten or twelve of which still survive. The average number of members has somewhat exceeded five hundred yearly. These societies hold a regular weekly meeting. Two or three hundred persons usually assemble. No discussion is allowed in the place of worship; but their meetings are open to all, whether members of their society or not. Their service consists of reading monotheistic sentences selected from the Veds. A few of these are chanted by a portion of the congregation. Once in about two months a sermon or lecture is delivered by their leader, or by some person of his selection. The service is concluded with a hymn, sung by a hired singer in the peculiar Oriental style, accompanied by Bengali instruments of music.

“The existence of this body of monotheists is significant of the change which has been wrought in the mind of India during the last quarter of a century. Whatever influence we may think them likely to exert, one thing, at least, is certain: the bonds of the old superstition have been burst; the incubus of thirty centuries has been lifted from the panting bosom of that mighty country. The reformation in theology which Rammohun Roy inaugurated, and of which the Brahmas have been the advanced pioneers since his time, has been opposed with the malignant hatred of a superstition which perceived itself to be slipping from its ancient foothold. But, in spite of all opposition, it has steadily advanced, and, with the diffusion of liberal ideas, the leading minds have become impressed with the necessity of reform. And though they may but feebly apprehend the wants of their age, and their resources be inadequate to meet them, yet they are building wiser than they know, and we hail their efforts as auspicious omens of that brighter day, when the nations of the world shall become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ.” (*Quarterly Journal of Amer. Unit. Assoc.*, Nov. 1857, p. 16.)

Our religious hope for India is altogether of this kind. Whatever power of self-reform there is in the Brahminical theology, must work its own way thus, unimpeded by orthodox Christian missionaries. They cannot help the work; they can only hinder it. The little element of Unitarian Christianity that there is in India can hail its progress with joy, and help it forward. To divide the now vacant Bishopric of Calcutta into four, and urge the Trinitarian and Athanasian theology with fourfold force, will not materially promote the Christianization of India. But what we cannot do by ecclesiastical arrangement, we may greatly aid by our civil government and military system.

We might perhaps have taken measures sooner and more thoroughly than we did, for the suppression of the great practical abominations of Hindoo idolatry, such as the Suttee and the Juggernaut self-immolations. While the British Government paid profound respect to these observances as parts of the conscientious religious worship of the Hindoos, many a passive widow would have blessed their interference, as many a poor wretch would have thanked them for keeping him perforce from under the wheels of Juggernaut. As soon as the attempt was made, it was found not only safe, but the occasion of natural thankfulness. For the Hindoo, like ourselves, has the natural sense of religion and of morals, and when he feels himself impelled by traditionary superstition and false deference to usage to do something unnatural or extravagant, he blesses the benevolent interference of the English police or military who protect him against himself and his own idolatries. Our Government may do well to rely more upon this natural piety and natural morality, while properly careful not needlessly to insult, nor without such high and benevolent reason to interfere with, the stronger religious beliefs or practices of the Hindoos. While disowning all attempts to enforce Christianity upon the natives

of India, as its Mahometan conquerors enforced their Koran, the British Government are bound to put an end to the state of things alleged to exist, in which the profession of Christianity by a native is held as a disqualification rather than a recommendation for office. To make it a recommendation or a condition, would be a premium upon insincere conversions; but to make it a disqualification is more than equal justice to the Hindoo requires. Our administration should know nothing of such preferences. It should be a practical illustration of the march of sublime justice through the land, elevating the morality of the Hindoo by the exhibition of a benevolent Christian sway. And if, meanwhile, the improved constitution of the native army shall be adapted (as on the best military principles it might be, as already described) to the express end of breaking down *caste* by merging all castes in that of the British service;—these would be the great contributions of the British Government to the civilization, and therein to the christianizing, of India; while we might look to the Brahm Sumaj with increased confidence for more direct and more powerful influence in discountenancing idolatry and superstition, and diffusing that high Theism which, if not almost Christian itself, would be to the devoutest and most intelligent Hindoos, what the Law was to the devoutest and most intelligent Jews of the apostolic days, their conductor to the school of Christ.

SECTARIANISM.

DR. ARNOLD remarks that most of those who are above sectarianism are in general indifferent to Christianity, while almost all who profess to value Christianity seem, when they are brought to the test, to care only for their own sect. "Now," he adds, "it is manifest to me, that all our education must be Christian, and not be sectarian." Yet the whole aim of education up to this time has been, in this country, eminently sectarian, and every statesman who has attempted to place it on a broader basis has been either wrecked or stranded. "All sects," he says in another place, "have had among them marks of Christ's Catholic Church in the graces of his Spirit and the confession of his name," and he seems to wish that some one would compile a book shewing side by side what professors of all sects have done for the good of Christ's Church,—the martyrdoms, the missionary labours of Catholics, Protestants, Arians, &c.; "a grand field," he calls it, and so it were; but it lies fallow up to this time.—*Mrs. Jameson's Commonplace-Book*, pp. 201, 202.

LIVINGSTONE AND SOUTH AFRICA.*

THE narrow limits of our knowledge of Africa may well excite surprise. Its position in the world, its huge extent, the variety and usefulness of its products, unite to make it an object of profound interest to every part of the globe which civilization has reached. It is the most thoroughly tropical continent in the globe, extending from north to south not less than 5000 miles, with an area, it is supposed, nine million square miles—that is to say, an area exceeding that of Europe or Australia. It is approachable to the several nations of the world across the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Nevertheless, except in Egypt and a narrow belt of country near several portions of the coast, our knowledge of Africa is to the last degree meagre and unsatisfactory. The name of the country indicated the scanty knowledge possessed by the Romans. *Africa*, a Carthaginian word, signified a separate establishment or colony; and the name which was first used to designate the colonial Carthage, came to signify the whole continent, compared with which Carthage and its adjacent territory was an all but invisible speck. Centuries were allowed to roll on, and Africa remained a *terra incognita*. During the greater part of the eighteenth century, the maps of this quarter of the globe shewed that, since the days of Ptolemy, the addition to the knowledge of African geography had been inconsiderable. In 1788, the African Association was formed in London, the object of which was to explore the interior of the country. Under its auspices, Mungo Park made his interesting discoveries in Western Africa. North Africa was explored by Hornemann, another of their agents. Northern and Central Africa were most successfully explored in 1822 by Denham, Clapperton and Oudney. Of more recent African travellers who were carrying on their researches at the same time as Livingstone, we will not now speak. One remark, however, is required to enable us to do justice to the zeal and moral courage of those who devote themselves to African research. It generally costs the traveller his life. Park was killed at Boussa by the natives. Hornemann never returned from Bornu to report his discoveries. Disaster and death tracked the steps of the English expedition to the river Congo under Captain Tuckey. Oudney perished at Bornu, as Clapperton did at Sakatu. Major Laing was murdered in Sahara. The two Niger expeditions of 1832 and 1841, under the two Landers and Captain Trotter, were fatal to most of the brave men who undertook them. One of the few survivors, Mr. Duncan, afterwards perished in an attempt to reach Timbuku.

Of the three adventurers who, in 1849, were sent out by the British Government to explore Northern and Central Africa, two, Dr. Overweg and Mr. Richardson, perished, after five years of toil, in the desert. Most dearly, then, by the toil and life-blood of the bravest of our countrymen, has modern knowledge of Africa (limited as it still is) been won. Where violence has not struck the explorers down, fever, lurking in the jungle and the swamp, has done its not less fatal work. Of our noted colony on the western coast, Sierra Leone, the too-descriptive name is, "The White Man's Grave."

It is a remarkable coincidence, not ungratifying to our national pride, that about the same time we are presented with the results of researches in Africa, commencing the one from the northern, and the other from the southern extremity of the continent. Of the former, undertaken at the cost of the Government, directed by the intelligence of Lord Clarendon, we have the narrative (partly published) of Dr. Barth. Of the latter, undertaken under the auspices of a religious society, we have the narrative in the volume under review. Each work in its turn eclipses in importance, if not in personal interest, all preceding books of travels in Africa, and by throwing a flood of light on the physical geography of the interior, has swept away innumerable hypothetical misconceptions and errors. Both concur in exciting hopes of great commercial advantages to be derived from Africa. In Equatorial Africa, Dr. Barth has levelled, by a few strokes of his pen, the mighty chain of mountains once supposed to rise thence nearly to the moon. Still more important intelligence brought by this brave and intelligent traveller is, that instead of the desolate mountain plateau vaguely spoken of in books of geography, he found a rich, well-irrigated, and consequently fertile plain. There is a river flowing from the Kevarra into the very heart of Africa, which offers facilities for navigation, and passes through a territory abounding in valuable articles of commerce. What Dr. Barth has done for that portion of Africa which lies upon the equator, Dr. Livingstone has succeeded in doing with equal efficiency, and in narrating with superior graphic power, for the country lying below the sixth parallel of south latitude. This is his general description of the country :

"Our route to the north lay near the centre of the cone-shaped mass of land which constitutes the promontory of the Cape. If we suppose this cone to be divided into three zones or longitudinal bands, we find each presenting distinct peculiarities of climate, physical appearance and population. These are more marked beyond than within the colony. At some points one district seems to be continued in and to merge into the other; but the general dissimilarity warrants the division, as an aid to memory. The eastern zone is often furnished with mountains, well wooded with evergreen succulent trees, on which neither

fire nor droughts can have the smallest effect, and its seaborne gorges are clad with gigantic timber. It is also comparatively well watered with streams and flowing rivers. The annual supply of rain is considerable, and the inhabitants (Caffres or Zulus) are tall, muscular and well made; they are shrewd, energetic and brave; altogether, they merit the character given them by military authorities, of being 'magnificent savages.' Their splendid physical development and form of skull shew that, but for the black skin and woolly hair, they would take rank among the foremost Europeans.

"The next division, that which embraces the centre of the continent, can scarcely be called hilly, for what hills there are are very low. It consists for the most part of extensive, slightly undulating plains. There are no lofty mountains, but few springs, and still fewer flowing streams. Rain is far from abundant, and droughts may be expected every few years. Without artificial irrigation, no European grain can be raised, and the inhabitants (Bechuanas), though evidently of the same stock originally with those already mentioned, and closely resembling them in being an agricultural as well as a pastoral people, are a comparatively timid race, and inferior to the Caffres in physical development.

"The western division is still more level than the middle one, being rugged only near the coast. It includes the great plain called the Kalahari desert, which is remarkable for little water and very considerable vegetation."—Pp. 94, 95.

After offering an explanation of the meteorological and geological peculiarities of South Africa, Dr. Livingstone proceeds:

"The peculiar formation of the country may explain why there is such a difference in the vegetation between the 20th and 30th parallels of latitude in South Africa and the same latitudes in Central Australia. The want of vegetation is as true of some parts, too, in the centre of South America as of Australia; and the cause of the difference holds out a probability for the success of Artesian wells in extensive tracts of Africa, now unpeopled solely on account of the want of surface water. We may be allowed to speculate a little at least on the fact of much greater vegetation, which, from whatever source it comes, presents for South Africa prospects of future greatness which we cannot hope for in Central Australia. As the interior districts of the Cape colony are daily becoming of higher value, offering to honest industry a fair remuneration for capital, and having a climate unequalled in salubrity for consumptive patients, I should unhesitatingly recommend any farmer at all afraid of that complaint in his family to try this colony. With the means of education already possessed, and the onward and upward movement of the Cape population, we need entertain no apprehensions of his family sinking into barbarism."—P. 97.

As it will not be practicable for us, within the limits we have assigned to ourselves in this article, to give a particular account of the wanderings of our missionary, we must content ourselves with a brief general sketch of the mode in which he employed himself during his fifteen years in South Africa, and with then selecting two or three of the more interesting subjects which this volume illustrates.

Many Christian missionaries had preceded Livingstone in South Africa. The most distinguished of them was Robert Moffat, under whom he himself at first served. Moffat had planted the gospel among the Bechuanas, a peaceful and interesting tribe, who dwell north of the Cape colony and south of the Kalahari desert. He had also translated the Holy Scriptures into the Sechuana language, spoken by a very large portion of the South African aborigines. The daughter of Robert Moffat became the wife of Livingstone, and was, until 1852, when she and her children visited England, the faithful associate with him in his missionary labours.

On his arrival at Cape Town in 1840, Livingstone proceeded to Algoa Bay, and thence travelled, by the help of oxen and wagons (a mode of locomotion which he describes as pleasant as a journey with a *pic-nic* party), to the most remote missionary station then in existence—Kuruman, distant in a straight line some 600 miles from Cape Town. After resting and making himself familiar with the place and learning all that was then known of the country, he adopted a course of proceeding which shewed both his wisdom and his strength of purpose. Proceeding northward some 300 miles to a place called Lepelole, or Litubaraba, the territory of the Bakwain Africans, he cut himself off for a period of six months from all European society, and devoted himself to the study of the language, manners and ideas, of the people amongst whom he established himself. Here he founded a new missionary station, which was afterwards transplanted to a beautiful valley called Mabotsa, situated about three degrees north-east of Kuruman. But before this removal of the station was effected, Livingstone took, in 1842, a journey northwards, reaching nearly to 22 south latitude, and this toilsome journey he performed altogether on foot, the oxen being sick. From Mabotsa the missionaries were driven by drought. From their next station, Kolobeng, they were driven by a drought which lasted four years, and by apprehensions of the incursions of the Boers, a warlike and savage tribe, who are a terror to all their peaceful neighbours. It was not till 1849 that Livingstone attempted to make a circuit round the great desert lying to the north, Kalahari. Starting on the 1st of June, in company with two Englishmen of fortune, Messrs Oswell and Murray, he had the good fortune, on the 1st of August in that year, to reach the central lake Ngami, the existence of which had long been known to Europeans by report, but till that day was never beheld by any Englishman. The jealousy of the inhabitants prevented his reaching at this time the residence of an African prince, Sebituane, chief of the Makololo tribe, and Livingstone returned to Kolobeng. In the following year, he set out, with his wife and three children, to visit the north country once more. His plans were obstructed by the illness of the children and their attendants,

who were visited with fever, the terrible form of sickness which constantly dogs the African traveller. But this journey was signalized by his discovery of the great river Zambese, which flows from the centre of the continent of Africa, and, after traversing a succession of fertile districts, falls into the Indian Ocean near Quilimane, 18 south lat. The importance of this discovery can scarcely be unduly magnified. The waters of the Zambese will doubtless become the silent highway along which commerce, civilization and Christianity, will penetrate into the very heart of the African continent.

In the spring of 1852, after having been eleven years absent from the haunts of civilization, he visited the Cape, accompanied by his wife and children. They were bound for England, and our brave missionary parted with them with the vain hope of being able to rejoin them at home after two years had elapsed. It was in June, 1852, that Livingstone entered on his most important and ever-memorable journey, "the results of which," it has been said, "have filled the scientific world with rapture and the Christian world with hope; a journey which, whether we consider its extent and perils, the additions made by it to ethnography and geographical science, or its probable consequences to the tribes of Africa, has no parallel in the history of ancient and modern travel." It extended over a period of four years. Proceeding northwards, he reached Linyanti, twelve hundred miles from the Cape. In accomplishing this, he had exceeded the northward course of Gordon Cumming, the reckless slayer of wild beasts. But this was but the beginning of his toils. Starting afresh, he proceeded further north between six and seven degrees, and then, winding to the west, had the satisfaction of reaching Loanda, the capital of Angola, situated on the west coast of Africa, in latitude 8.50 south. Here an incident occurred which shewed the true Christian nature of our missionary. He was greatly reduced by fatigue and successive attacks of fever, and needed rest and the reviving influences of his native air. At Loanda he was offered a voyage home in a Queen's ship which visited the port. The time was passed when his wife expected his return. The inducements seemed irresistible, but one consideration of duty enabled this brave and good man to put them all aside. He had been accompanied by a party of Makololo Africans, some of the tribe of Sekeletu, a chieftain, whose character we shall presently describe. Without his guidance and protection, these faithful creatures would, he feared, never safely reach Linyanti. Abandoning all thoughts of an immediate return to England, he resolved to see his attendants safe.

It was during his journey to Loanda that Livingstone discovered the water-shed of the country at a spot about $22\frac{1}{2}$ degrees east longitude, and between 11 and 12 south latitude. Here, at either extremity of the Lake Dilolo, he found the sources of

the great western river, the Congo, which falls into the Atlantic, and of the Zambese, the great eastern river, which discharges its waters into the Indian Ocean. The summit is far less elevated than had been supposed, being not more than 4000 feet above the level of the sea. It is a very interesting fact, honourable to geographical and geological science, that long before Livingstone had by ocular proof satisfied himself that the interior of Africa was a watery plateau of less elevation than the ranges of hills by which it was flanked, Sir Roderick Murchison had, as early as 1852, hypothetically described the configuration of the country, in an essay read before the Geographical Society of London.

He now conceived the daring project of passing across the entire continent of Africa, and exploring what yet remained unknown to him of the countries between Loanda and the east coast. On the 1st of January, 1855, he set out on his eastward journey, reached Linyanti in September, and, starting again early in November, descended the river Zambese, passed (but not unscathed by fever) through the pestilential Delta, and reached Kilimane (in an almost prostrate condition) May 20, 1856.

The spirit in which Dr. Livingstone conceived and executed his duties as a Christian evangelist, will be best described in his own wise and instructive language :

“Sending the gospel to the heathen must include much more than is implied in the usual picture of a missionary, namely, a man going about with a Bible under his arm. The promotion of commerce ought to be specially attended to, as this, more speedily than anything else, demolishes that sense of isolation which heathenism engenders, and makes the tribes feel themselves mutually dependent on and mutually beneficial to each other. With a view to this, the missionaries at Kuruman got permission from the Government for a trader to reside at the station, and a considerable trade has been the result; the trader himself has become rich enough to retire with a competence. Those laws which still prevent free commercial intercourse among the civilized nations seem to be nothing else but the remains of our own heathenism. My observations on this subject make me extremely desirous to promote the preparation of the raw materials of European manufactures in Africa, for by that means we may not only put a stop to the slave-trade, but introduce the negro family into the body corporate of nations, no one member of which can suffer without the others suffering with it. Success in this, in both Eastern and Western Africa, would lead, in the course of time, to a much larger diffusion of the blessings of civilization than efforts exclusively spiritual and educational confined to any one small tribe. These, however, it would of course be extremely desirable to carry on at the same time at large central and healthy stations; for neither civilization nor Christianity can be promoted alone; in fact, they are inseparable.”
P. 28.

In one particular, Dr. Livingstone seems honourably distinguished from the mass of missionaries. They think it becomes their office to depreciate to the lowest degree the knowledge and

virtue of the heathen, in order to magnify the gospel. This is the candid estimate he offers of the religious attainments of some of the African tribes:

“The indirect and scarcely appreciable blessings of Christian missionaries going about doing good are thus probably not so despicable as some might imagine; there is no necessity for beginning to tell even the most degraded of these people of the existence of a God, or of a future state, the facts being universally admitted. Everything that cannot be accounted for by common causes is ascribed to the Deity, as creation, sudden death, &c. ‘How curiously God made these things!’ is a common expression; as is also, ‘He was not killed by disease, he was killed by God.’ * * * On questioning intelligent men among the Bakwains as to their former knowledge of good and evil, of God and the future state, they have scouted the idea of any of them ever having been without a tolerably clear conception on all these subjects. Respecting their sense of right and wrong, they profess that nothing we indicate as sin ever appeared to them as otherwise, except the statement that it was wrong to have more wives than one; and they declare that they spoke in the same way of the direct influence exercised by God in giving rain in answer to the prayers of the rain-makers, and in granting deliverance in times of danger, as they do now, before they ever heard of white men. The want, however, of any form of public worship, or of idols, or of formal prayer or sacrifice, makes both Caffres and Bechuanas appear as among the most godless race of mortals known anywhere. But though they all possess a distinct knowledge of a Deity and of a future state, they shew so little reverence, and feel so little connection with either, that it is not surprising that some have supposed them entirely ignorant on the subject. At Lotlakani, we met an old Bushman who at first seemed to have no conception of morality whatever: when his heart was warmed by our presents of meat, he sat by the fire relating his early adventures; among these was killing five other Bushmen. ‘Two,’ said he, counting on his fingers, ‘were females, one a male, and the other two calves.’ ‘What a villain you are to boast of killing women and children of your own nation! What will God say when you appear before him?’ ‘He will say,’ replied he, ‘that I was a very clever fellow.’ This man now appeared to me as without any conscience, and, of course, responsibility; but on trying to enlighten him by further conversation, I discovered, that though he was employing the word which is used among the Bakwains when speaking of the Deity, he had only the idea of a chief, and was all the while referring to Sekomi, while his victims were a party of rebel Bushmen against whom he had been sent. If I had known the name of God in the Bushman tongue, the mistake could scarcely have occurred. It must, however, be recollected, while reflecting on the degradation of the natives of South Africa, that the farther north, the more distinct do the native ideas on religious subjects become, and I have not had any intercourse with either Caffres or Bushmen in their own tongues.”—Pp. 158, 159.

No portion of this volume relating to Dr. Livingstone’s intercourse with the aborigines of Africa is more interesting than that which relates to the Bakwains and their noble-minded prince. The chief of the tribe, Sechele, lived about fifteen miles off at

Shokuane. He was a very remarkable man, and the moral power which our missionary presently acquired over him exercised an important influence on his after success. He attended the very first attempt made by Livingstone to hold a public religious service, and then "remarked that it was the custom of his nation, when any new subject was brought before them, to put questions on it." Having obtained permission to ask what questions he wished, he inquired if the missionary's forefathers knew of a future judgment. When that great Scripture doctrine was explained to him, he seemed overcome by religious awe, and asked why the doctrine had not been taught to his forefathers, who passed into darkness without knowing whither they were going. The chief appears to have surrendered himself at once to the influence of the white man, and began immediately to learn to read. He learned the alphabet in a single day. So eagerly did he devote himself to study, that he abandoned the chase, and found the inconvenience which sometimes attaches to sedentary and studious habits—he became inconveniently fat. Whenever the missionary went into the town, the chief presented himself before him, that he might hear him read some chapters in the Bible. Isaiah was his favourite book in the Old Testament. When he saw how anxious Livingstone was that the Bakwains should be converted to Christianity, he gave him some hints as to the speediest mode of doing it. "Do you imagine," he said, "these people will ever believe by your merely talking to them? I can make them do nothing except by thrashing them, and, if you like, I'll call our head men, and with our litupa (whips of rhinoceros hide) we'll soon make them all believe together."

This sounds very ridiculous; but the ridicule, we fear, attaches to others beside the African chief. Christians have been too fond of using the "litupa," and have used even worse instruments of conversion than the whip of rhinoceros hide—hard tests, persecuting laws, the dungeon, the rack, and the martyr's fire. Sechele was presently called upon by his growing interest in Christianity to act the painful part of a confessor, and to renounce certain national usages which were inconsistent with the sternly righteous morals of the gospel. Like other great men of his nation, he had many wives. The religion of Christ only allows one. Deeply did he deplore that he had not enjoyed the opportunity of learning Christianity before he became entangled in the meshes of polygamy. His instructor felt all the difficulties of the case, and let him take his own time. This is Livingstone's mode of telling the story:

"His principal wife was about the most unlikely subject of the tribe ever to become anything else than an out-and-out greasy disciple of the old school. She has since become greatly altered, I hear, for the better; but again and again have I seen Sechele send her out of church

to put her gown on; and away she would go, with her lips shot out, the very picture of unutterable disgust at his newfangled notions. When he at last applied for baptism, I simply asked him, how he, having the Bible in his hand and able to read it, thought he ought to act. He went home, gave each of his superfluous wives new clothing and all his own goods, which they had been accustomed to keep in their huts for him, and sent them to their parents, with an intimation that he had no fault to find with them, but that, in parting with them, he wished to follow the will of God."

The painful necessity for this divorce created a serious obstacle to the progress of the new religion. Not only the ladies, who lost at once a good husband and an envied social position, but their relations, who, in common with other members of the black aristocracy, had prided themselves on their alliance to their chief, became open enemies of the missionary's religion. A fashionable clamour was raised against him, and with the sort of logic which prejudice is apt to use in times of panic, these divorced ladies and their angry kinsmen ascribed an inconvenient drought, with which they were then troubled, to his presence amongst them. They would have nothing to do with his prayer-meetings, and would no more listen to his sermons than planters of one of the Southern States of America at the present day would countenance a minister of religion who should conceive it to be a part of his duty to denounce slavery. Sechele thus bemoaned his inability to set the fashion in his own court:

"In former times, when a chief was fond of hunting, all his people got dogs and became fond of hunting too. If he was fond of dancing or music, all shewed a liking to these amusements too. If the chief loved beer, they all rejoiced in strong drink. But in this case it is different. I love the word of God, and not one of my brethren will join me."

It is impossible for the reader of Livingstone not to be interested in this remarkable African prince. One regrets to find that he and his tribe were harassed and endangered in a war with the Boers, and that so dark did Sechele's fortunes at one time appear, that he meditated a personal appeal to Queen Victoria, of whose justice and generosity he entertained a high idea, thinking she would see him righted, despite of the violator of treaties who had wronged him. He actually proceeded to the Cape, a journey of 1000 miles; but there his resources failed him. Returning, he re-established his authority, and continues to be a powerful chief and a zealous advocate of Christianity.

The account which Dr. Livingstone gives of his style of house-keeping in Africa, has a sort of Robinson Crusoe interest about it, and also shews how well he united in his own person the character of a pioneer of civilization and a Christian missionary:

"The entire absence of shops led us to make everything we needed from the raw materials. You want bricks to build a house, and must

forthwith proceed to the field, cut down a tree, and saw it into planks to make the brick moulds; the materials for doors and windows, too, are standing in the forest; and if you want to be respected by the natives, a house of decent dimensions, costing an immense amount of manual labour, must be built. The people cannot assist you much; for though most willing to labour for wages, the Bakwains have a curious inability to make or put things square; like all Bechuanas, their dwellings are made round. In the case of three large houses, erected by myself at different times, every brick and stick had to be put square by my own right hand.

"Having got the meal ground, the wife proceeds to make it into bread; an extempore oven is often constructed by scooping out a large hole in an ant-hill, and using a slab of stone for a door. Another plan, which might be adopted by the Australians to produce something better than their 'dampers,' is, to make a good fire on a level piece of ground, and, when the ground is thoroughly heated, place the dough in a small short-handled frying-pan, or simply on the hot ashes, invert any sort of metal pot over it, draw the ashes around, and then make a small fire on the top. Dough mixed with a little leaven from a former baking, and allowed to stand an hour or two in the sun, will by this process become excellent bread.

"We made our own butter, a jar serving as a churn; and our own candles by means of moulds; and soap was procured from the ashes of the plant *salsola*, or from wood ashes, which in Africa contain so little alkaline matter, that the boiling of successive leys has to be continued for a month or six weeks before the fat is saponified. There is not much hardship in being almost entirely dependent on ourselves; there is something of the feeling which must have animated Alexander Selkirk on seeing conveniences springing up before him from his own ingenuity; and married life is all the sweeter when so many comforts emanate directly from the thrifty, striving housewife's hands.

"To some it may appear quite a romantic mode of life; it is one of active benevolence, such as the good may enjoy at home. Take a single day as a sample of the whole. We rose early, because, however hot the day may have been, the evening, night and morning, at Kolobeng were deliciously refreshing: cool is not the word, where you have neither an increase of cold nor heat to desire, and where you can sit out till midnight with no fears of cough or rheumatism. After family worship and breakfast between six and seven, we went to keep school for all who would attend; men, women and children being all invited. School over at eleven o'clock, while the missionary's wife was occupied in domestic matters, the missionary himself had some manual labour as a smith, carpenter or gardener, according to whatever was needed for ourselves or for the people; if for the latter, they worked for us in the garden, or at some other employment; skilled labour was thus exchanged for the unskilled. After dinner and an hour's rest, the wife attended her infant school, which the young, who were left by their parents entirely to their own caprice, liked amazingly and generally mustered 100 strong; or she varied that with a sewing school, having classes of girls to learn the art; this too was equally well relished. During the day, every operation must be superintended, and both husband and wife must labour till the sun declines. After sunset, the husband went

into the town to converse with any one willing to do so,—sometimes on general subjects, at other times on religion. On three nights of the week, as soon as the milking of the cows was over and it had become dark, we had a public religious service, and one of instruction on secular subjects, aided by pictures and specimens. These services were diversified by attending on the sick and prescribing for them, giving food to and otherwise assisting the poor and wretched. We tried to gain their affections by attending to the wants of the body. The smallest acts of friendship, an obliging word and civil look, are, as St. Xavier thought, no despicable part of the missionary armour. Nor ought the good opinion of the most abject to be uncared for, when politeness may secure it. Their good word in the aggregate forms a reputation, which may be well employed in procuring favour for the gospel. Shew kind attention to the reckless opponents of Christianity on the bed of sickness and pain, and they never can become your personal enemies. Here, if anywhere, love begets love.”—Pp. 40, 41.

Very different from the Bakwains are the Boers, of whom Dr. Livingstone draws the portrait in darker colours:

“Another adverse influence with which the mission had to contend was the vicinity of the Boers of the Cashan Mountains, otherwise named ‘Magaliesberg.’ These are not to be confounded with the Cape colonists, who sometimes pass by the name. The word Boer simply means ‘farmer,’ and is not synonymous with our word boor. Indeed, to the Boers generally the latter term would be quite inappropriate, for they are a sober, industrious, and most hospitable body of peasantry. Those, however, who have fled from English law on various pretexts, and have been joined by English deserters and every other variety of bad character in their district localities, are unfortunately of a very different stamp. The great objection many of the Boers had, and still have, to English law is, that it makes no distinction between black men and white. They felt aggrieved by their supposed losses in the emancipation of their Hottentot slaves, and determined to erect themselves into a republic, in which they might pursue without molestation the ‘proper treatment of the blacks.’ It is almost needless to add that the ‘proper treatment’ has always contained in it the essential element of slavery, namely, compulsory unpaid labour.

“One section of this body, under the late Mr. Hendrick Potgeiter, penetrated the interior as far as the Cashan Mountains, whence a Zulu or Caffre chief, Mosilikatze, had been expelled by the well-known Caffre Dingaan; and a glad welcome was given them by the Bechuana tribes, who had just escaped the hard sway of that cruel chieftain. They came with the prestige of white men and deliverers; but the Bechuanas soon found, as they expressed it, ‘that Mosilikatze was cruel to his enemies, and kind to those he conquered; but that the Boers destroyed their enemies, and made slaves of their friends.’ The tribes who still retain the semblance of independence are forced to perform all the labour of the fields, such as manuring the land, weeding, reaping, building, making dams and canals, and at the same time to support themselves. I have myself been an eye-witness of Boers coming to a village, and, according to their usual custom, demanding twenty or thirty women to weed their gardens, and have seen these women proceed to the scene of unre-

quited toil, carrying their own food on their heads, their children on their backs, and instruments of labour on their shoulders. Nor have the Boers any wish to conceal the meanness of thus employing unpaid labour; on the contrary, every one of them, from Mr. Potgeiter and Mr. Gert Krieger, the commandants, downwards, lauded his own humanity and justice in making such an equitable regulation. 'We make the people work for us, in consideration of allowing them to live in our country.'—Pp. 29, 30.

Next to the Bakwain Africans, amongst whom Dr. Livingstone's earlier experiences of African life were gained, the Makololo tribe occupy the most important place in his narrative. Their chief, Sekeletu, a youth inferior in abilities to Sechele, like him proved himself a warm friend of the English missionary. Unlike the Bakwain chief, he had some dread of the alphabet, and jealously watched the effects of the one Book of the missionary against his views on polygamy, and shewed a marked disinclination to it when, in reading it, he perceived any tendency towards enforcing him to put his wives away.

The Makololo ladies are less dark than other African women, being of a light brownish-yellow colour. Now as beauty and fairness are associated in the African mind, the Makololo *fair* ones are the fashionable beauties of South Africa. One attribute essential to an African Venus is plumpness. Having little labour dependent on them beyond beautifying their huts and court-yards, they often acquire this element of beauty. To promote the tendency to "embonpoint," they imbibe (but as secretly as European ladies perform the mysteries of their toilet) a decoction from a nutritious grain in a very minute state of subdivision, and the result commonly is that plumpness of figure which the ladies covet in proportion as the other sex admire it.

"They cut their woolly hair quite short, and delight in having the whole person shining with butter. Their dress is a kilt, reaching to the knees; its material is ox-hide, made as soft as cloth. It is not ungraceful. A soft skin mantle is thrown across the shoulders when the lady is unemployed; but when engaged in any sort of labour, she throws this aside, and works in the kilt alone. The ornaments most coveted are large brass anklets, as thick as the little finger, and armlets of both brass and ivory, the latter often an inch broad. The rings are so heavy that the ankles are often blistered by the weight pressing down; but it is the fashion, and is borne as magnanimously as tight-lacing and tight shoes among ourselves. Strings of beads are hung around the neck, and the fashionable colours being light green and pink, a trader could get almost anything he chose for beads of these colours."

The looking-glass was an object of great wonderment and interest to these Makololo beauties. But their reflections, as they stood before the glass and realized their own features, were, we imagine, more candid than in the like circumstances would fall from the lips of an European lady:

"They came frequently and asked for the looking-glass; and the remarks they made, while I was engaged in reading and apparently not attending to them, on first seeing themselves therein, were amusingly ridiculous. 'Is that me?' 'What a big mouth I have!' 'My ears are as big as pumpkin-leaves.' 'I have no chin at all.' Or, 'I would have been pretty, but am spoiled by these high cheek-bones.' 'See how my head shoots up in the middle!' laughing vociferously all the time at their own jokes. They readily perceive any defect in each other, and give nicknames accordingly. One man came alone to have a quiet gaze at his own features once, when he thought I was asleep; after twisting his mouth about in various directions, he remarked to himself, 'People say I am ugly, and how very ugly I am indeed!'"

The general impression of the African character which the reading of Dr. Livingstone's book gives, is rather favourable than otherwise. There is a prevailing simplicity and kindness among them. They are dull enough in the appreciation of spiritual truths, but not so slow in comprehending those results of civilization that will promote their physical comfort. Everywhere Dr. Livingstone found an eagerness for trade, by which he might have won a large return of profit, if, as the herald of religious truth, he had not felt it to be his duty to decline the opportunity of benefiting himself. Generally these children of nature were totally ignorant of the uses of money, and if offered a sovereign in one hand and a button in the other, would certainly choose the latter, because it has an eye. English calico was everywhere in request; for a strip of red cloth capable of being made into a kilt, food in many of the villages of Central Africa could be obtained that would keep a family for a week. The articles which they are ready to exchange with Europeans are ivory, skins, various kinds of grain, indigo and cotton. Under a regular system of commerce, the supply of the latter could, in Dr. Livingstone's judgment, be indefinitely increased. There is an abundant population, the climate is favourable to the growth of the cotton plant, and the natives of that tropical climate can labour under that burning sun without the inconvenience which the European feels. May it not be that, in God's providence, Africa is destined to play an important part in the world's commerce, and that, stimulated by the wants of a civilization to which at present they are entirely strangers, the swarthy sons of this tropical climate may be the means of solving a problem which is now perplexing many minds? That the cultivation of the cotton plant is essential to the provision of the clothing, and so to the civilization, of the human race, no one will dispute. But, says the planter, you cannot have cotton sufficient to employ even the looms of England, far less sufficient to weave calico to clothe all the world, without the help of slavery. But believing as we do that the world is under the providential law of a merciful God, we do not and cannot believe that slavery is to be, as long as

man exists, the doom of a large portion of the race. So monstrously unnatural and wicked a system is this *slavery*, that as the world improves it must come to an end. It combines in itself every crime by which humanity is darkened—treachery, cruelty, robbery, lust and murder. It degrades and pollutes and brutalizes all who have to do with it. It overthrows their moral sense, making them call good evil, and evil good. It stops education; it makes religion a mockery, a delusion and a snare. We can as soon believe that the God of Light will pluck the sun and the stars from his glorious firmament, and let his creatures grope to the end of time in hopeless darkness, as we can that the Heavenly Parent will, in despite of that nature which he has implanted within us, and in direct opposition to that religion of love which he sent his Son on earth to teach, allow slavery for ever to pollute his world.

But if Africa is to be the solver of the anxious problem to which we have alluded, we must at once unite with all the free nations of the world in putting down the merciless trade of man-stealing, which dogs the steps of African research, and is already extending from the coast to Central Africa. On this subject, Dr. Livingstone's testimony is emphatic. Wherever these man-stealers come, there is an end of mutual confidence, of honest commerce and everything good. The natives, once seduced by appeals to their resentments or their covetousness, aid in the work of slavery, first making war against their weaker neighbours, and then, selling the men, women and children whom they have taken prisoners as slaves, are, like hounds who have once tasted blood, never again to be trusted. It is not therefore enough that our ships of war sweep along the coasts of Africa to keep off or capture the slavers. At all the great African outlets we must establish commercial agencies, and enable them to procure the requisite assistance for rescuing their victims from the traffickers in the bodies of their fellow-creatures. We feel no hesitation in striking down the garrotter and in shooting the burglar. But what are the crimes of these men when compared with those of the slave-dealer?

Before parting with Dr. Livingstone's book, we must quote two short passages in which he sums up the experience of his mission:

"One of the discoveries I have made is, that there are vast numbers of good people in the world; and I most devoutly tender my unfeigned thanks to that Gracious One, who mercifully watched over me in every position, and influenced the hearts of both black and white to regard me with favour."

"As far as I am myself concerned, the opening of the new central country is a matter for congratulation only in so far as it opens up a prospect for the elevation of the inhabitants. I view the end of the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprize. I take

the latter term in its most extended signification, and include every effort made for the amelioration of our race; the promotion of all those means by which God in his providence is working and bringing all his dealings with man to a glorious consummation. Each man in his sphere, either knowingly or unwittingly, is performing the will of our Father in Heaven. Men of science, searching after hidden truths, which when discovered will, like the electric telegraph, bind men more closely together—soldiers battling for the right against tyranny—sailors rescuing the victims of oppression from the grasp of heartless men-stealers—merchants teaching the nations lessons of mutual dependence—and many others, as well as missionaries, all work in the same direction; and all efforts are overruled for one glorious end.”—Pp. 673, 674.

We cannot close this article without recurring once more to the character of the good man whose life and mission have been our subject. His patience and usefulness and habitual cheerfulness become the brave man and the Christian. A more cheerful and wisely hopeful book than his we never read. His labours and sufferings were great. He often was in scenes of danger; sometimes he wanted food, and often underwent the torment of thirst, which none but an African or oriental traveller can understand. He once lay in the grasp of an enraged lion, whose spring had thrown him to the ground and broken his shoulder. More than thirty times he suffered from fever. Yet never does he allow a murmur to escape him. We may well be proud of our countryman. Speaking of such men, a fine writer for the daily press* said the other day, “We may well be proud of such men, who, without high birth or the pride of connections or the breath of fashion, without a single drop of Norman blood in their veins, are *noble*. These men, and men like them, wherever they are, in whatever class they are, in whatever department they are, are the true aristocracy of nature and the true nobility of the earth. The *real aristocracy* of a country, that which raises a country, that which strengthens a country, and that which dignifies a country, that which spreads her power, creates her moral influence, and makes her respected and submitted to, binds the heart of millions to her. This aristocracy is not an aristocracy of blood, not an aristocracy of fashion, nor an aristocracy of talent only; it is an aristocracy of character. That is the true heraldry of man.” It is the character developed by Dr. Livingstone—that of solid simplicity and quiet strength—a powerful but commanding character controlled by modesty, tempered by thought and reflection, and, we will add, attuned to the highest moral pitch by the principles and hope of the Christian.

* The passage, which we have modified slightly to apply to Dr. Livingstone, was the tribute of the *Times* to the first glories of Havelock.

THE DIVINE AND HUMAN ESTIMATE OF SIN.

SIR,

I SEE advertised in the *Inquirer* of last week a lecture to be delivered by Mr. Martineau on the 21st of this month in the Portland-Street chapel, London, "on Sin—what it is, and what it is *not*." I wish much it were in my power to hear that lecture—at least, if I had the smallest hope of understanding it. I think there is no subject at present before us more worthy of a pen of power, and such undoubtedly is Mr. Martineau's. His title, indeed, does not exactly express the form in which the subject has most frequently occurred to my own mind. I should have called it perhaps, "The difference between the Divine and Human Estimate of Sin." But I have little doubt that *his* meaning would not be very far from mine. For sin surely *is* that which it appears to be in the eye of God; it is *not* that which it is often accounted to be in the sight of man. Again I say, it is a great subject; none greater. But it is also great in its difficulty as well as in its interest and importance. Who is equal to so great a controversy? Who can grapple it with the hand of a master—go through and through it—and answer his own inquiry? The Divine and human estimate of sin!—what human ken can mark out the boundaries of each—descend to their foundations—declare their principles—point to their distinctive diagnosis? A full, clear and complete exposition, it were perhaps vain to hope for. In this, as in so many of our inquiries among the depths of man's nature and the intricacies of the path he has to tread, we are compelled to see through a glass darkly. Clouds and shadows gather round our way. But yet neither human weakness nor heavenly wisdom would therefore counsel us to explore no farther. If we cannot pursue our journey under the full blaze of day, we may yet walk forward even in the dim twilight, provided only we remember that it *is* twilight, and that we must therefore go on our way with patience, modesty and circumspection. Surely, even to our darkness some glimpse of light may be accorded; some occasional opening through the cloud, which, though but a fragment, shall yet be a fragment of the sky.

Does not the whole subject of sin—i. e. *our estimate and treatment* of it—want a thorough investigation and review? And yet many of us feel most apprehensively the dangerous nature of the inquiry. If we remove old landmarks, we must plant new ones; and may not these too trace out wrong boundaries, while they may leave virtue unprotected by the ancient fences of authority? It requires a bold reformer to make war upon the traditionary morality of our fathers; and the boldest spirit is not always the wisest. Let us remember in all our speculations, that for weak humanity virtue is yet more necessary than truth, and that

Heaven, knowing this, has shed its light upon it with a clearer ray.

In the first place, there is that one wide distinction to be observed between sin and crime,—between those offences which are mere violations of human laws or conventions, and those which are violations of God's law, and which, per se, are offensive to His character and spirit. We must never lose sight of this distinction. We must treat *crime* as members of a great social body, associated together for mutual protection and advantage. We must treat sin as members of a great human family, as sharers of the same nature, creatures of the same power, children of the same Father, heirs of the same hopes, beings susceptible of the same happiness and the same sufferings. As social confederates, we must protect ourselves against each other. Our measures must have reference to this life—to this world—to our material well-being or our material hurt. But as partakers of the same nature, as brethren in earth and heaven, through all eternity, as beings made to grow in excellence and happiness, and to become fit to dwell for ever before the throne of God, we have to estimate and to treat sin as it bears upon all these conditions and future purposes of our being. In one case, we look upon *crime* with the eye of *men*. In the other, we look upon sin *with the eye of God*.

To do this, then, we must look, as He does, upon the present and the future—upon the thing itself, and also, *as contemporaneous and identical*, upon the inevitable consequence of the thing. That which He has inexorably linked to sin,—*that*, whatever it may be, we must not disjoin. But neither must we annex penalties which He has not decreed. His omniscient eye separates at once the evil from the good, discriminates between the essentially bad and the conventionally bad, between the accidentally and exceptionally bad and the habitually and voluntarily bad, between the action and the character of the action. We must endeavour to do the same. We must judge with His judgment; we must weigh with His balances; we must look forward with His prophetic eye; we must pity with His pity; we must forbear with His long-suffering; we must condemn only when our condemnation is an echo of *His*. How different would our judgments be, if we judged after this manner! How different our language and our treatment! How careful would be our investigation, how long-suffering our patience, how gentle our rebuke, how merciful, tender and regretful even our condemnation! If we studied and understood our nature, how should we feel for, pity and protect, its weakness! How would its very helplessness make us look upon it with tenderness and love! If we thought of the purpose of that nature, and the destiny God has marked out for it, how should we reverence every form and fragment, even under its most dark eclipse!

How would our too ready verdict of "Guilty," be changed into the prayer—nay, into the expressed conviction—"Father, Thou *wilt* forgive them, for they know not what they do."

It is impossible to read of the treatment by our Saviour of the various sins with which he comes into collision, and his demeanour towards the various kinds of sinners, without feeling that *his* estimate and that often current among men are widely and distinctly different. Any sin springing from the natural weakness of our nature, any that might be marked as distinctively *human*, he always treated with some measure of tenderness, and spoke of it with gentle, though grave reproof. But pride, vain glory and hypocrisy,—cruelty, contempt, hardness of heart, and especially the attempt to lead into evil, to darken the way of life, and shut up the kingdom of heaven against those who sought to enter there,—all this was a character of iniquity for which our Lord had no words of tenderness or toleration. Do *we* judge after this manner? Does the English public, or the European public? Or do we not sometimes take a fit of virtuous frenzy against some one sin, which happens, almost accidentally, to have attracted our indignation, and hunt it to the death, as if that sin were the parent, source and representative of *all* sin; and then, having sacrificed a certain number of victims, and wearied ourselves with this spasmodic struggle for the suppression of vice, do we not sink back again into lethargy, and leave the field free to the evil-doer for another space, till our attention, indignation and energy are again roused to its periodic action? And in individual instances, and among regular, chronic sins, do we always judge with a righteous judgment—do we judge as Christ judged, as God judges? Let us see.

Here are two human beings walking the earth, God's creatures both of them, children of one Father, each susceptible of happiness and misery, just as we are,—both having the circumstances of their lot mainly determined for them,—both having partly in their own hands the colouring of their individual destiny. There is a poor, weeping, broken-hearted, desolate woman, solitary and friendless, without a home or a refuge upon earth,—hunted to death by that pack of human jackalls who are ever ready to open their cry upon any poor wounded fellow-creature, not weaker or wickeder than they, but only more unfortunate! There she stands in the darkness of the night, beneath the silent stars, or in the solitude of the crowded city, looking up to heaven, as if to ask if there is any mercy *THERE*. No word perhaps is on her lips, but from the silent depths of her heart rises that cry which God has put into the heart of His children, and which never surely goes up unheard before Him—"Hear my cry, O Lord, for I am in trouble." Why does she stand thus weeping and alone? Why does she thus cry aloud in the loneliness of her heart to that God against whom only she has sinned? What

has she done, that she is thus cast out from among men,—that friends have become cruel as most bitter enemies,—and that those who were cradled to sleep upon the same breast, forbear to speak her name, or speak it only with a lamentation, or almost with a curse? Is she the enemy of mankind? Has she betrayed the innocent, or shed the blood of the helpless, or broken the ties of nature? Not one of these things has she been or done. She was a gentle, loving, trusting woman. She believed in the truth of a false, selfish and cruel man. She yielded to the strong voice of nature,—that nature which God gave her,—and she was no longer master of her own destiny. She *now* is—what you see her,—a friendless, forsaken, desolate being. If the Good Samaritan were passing by, and knew her story, what would *he* say to her? Would he not bind up her wounds, and speak comfort to her sorrows, and take her to a home of safety, and make her feel that she was still God's child and man's sister? Would he not look upon the sorrow, and forget the sin?

Leave her for a moment, and look upon another scene. We are in the Royal Exchange of London—that wonderful centre where a nation's wealth, intelligence and movement meet. The tide of busy life is surging through those spacious courts. Men are moving hither and thither,—now conversing earnestly together, now hurrying forward to secure some desired interview, or communicate some important intelligence. An abstract of the whole world is within those courts,—an epitome of man. The righteous and the wicked are there—the evil and the good—the wheat and the tares. There they mingle together, and talk, and salute, and buy and sell, and get gain, just as in every other civilized corner of the earth. Hearts are there full of all the kindly affections of our nature, the home of honourable, manly and generous principles. Men are there who are the faithful servants of their Master, and who in the market as well as in the temple remember the great rule of doing as they would be done by. But these men of noble hearts stand side by side with others who seem, if we may guess their anatomy by their history, to have been born without any hearts at all; whose whole souls, if they have any, are filled with one absorbing thought, with one devouring desire; that thought being *self*—that desire, how to enrich that *self*, to pleasure that *self*, to cherish, aggrandize and glorify that *self*. There, among such, mark that *one*!—a flourishing and prosperous man,—a rich man,—a man of the very first respectability, whose acquaintance all seek, whose notice makes many proud, whose position among men is undoubtedly a high position, and who, instead of standing at the bar of the world's tribunal, sits upon the judgment-seat. That is what is called a successful man. But look at him a little closer—at the small type of his biography. What has that man ever done for any living being but himself? Did he ever sacrifice the smallest

interest of his own for the most important interest of another? What noble, generous, self-denying deed is written against his name in the Book of Life? What treasures has he laid up in heaven? What heart has he made happy upon earth? Where are the ten talents that his Lord committed to his keeping? Has any one of them been laid out in his Lord's service, or every stiver and fragment of them in his own?

Well! this man comes to the spot where that woman stands; perhaps both unconscious of the presence of the other. God looks down upon them. Which of these two, thinkest thou, is nearer at that moment to His kingdom? The world says, "THERE is a respectable man!—THERE is a lost woman!" What do the angels say?

When that great and terrible day shall appear which shall open the secrets of all hearts, which shall separate the evil from the good, which shall winnow the wheat from the chaff, which shall divide the real and true from the simulated and the false,—in that day when each man shall receive his doom, and when the seed which he sowed during his allotted hour on earth shall bear its appointed fruit during the eternal years of his onward being,—in that great day of final reckoning, how many will have a place and a portion allotted to them very different to that which they had pictured as their future fate in their own confident or fearful imaginations! How they will find themselves in an unexpected place, and in very unexpected company! As a friend once expressed it, one will look at another, and say, "What! *you* here!" Yes! we shall find our estimate of good and evil, of sin and virtue, very considerably modified; for then we shall see face to face: the dark glass will no longer be between ourselves and truth. Here, man seeth not as God seeth; *there*, perhaps, the difference will be less.

Of course I am not here attempting a full discussion of this great subject; I am only scattering fragments and suggestions, and I confess I am doing even this in some doubt as to whether I am wise in doing it. But perhaps those to whom my remarks may seem to be either weak or irrelevant will forbear to express a hasty censure, if they remember how many a shaft which does not reach the aim of the archer, may yet strike some other mark where it may tell as usefully. In this hope, let me again draw my bow at a venture.

Sin, some say, separates us from God; and regarding as sins all comprised in that catalogue of offences which has been arrayed in man's imagination, they would at once draw a dark veil between our soul and the Father of it, just when we are most in need of His spirit and strength to fight our way through the darkness. Surely this should not be. The soul that has been early accustomed to go to God, and to frequent the doors of His secret sanctuary, will not, unless through a misconception of

the nature of sin, be deterred from entering His presence because it has committed sin. Such a soul may even be drawn nearer to Him by having wandered away from Him. It may have beheld or suffered such things in those deserts where His presence does not dwell, that it may pray the more earnestly, with the spirit's groanings, to be admitted once more within the safe walls of His fold. It may have had such a wound, such a deep gash cut into it, that the light of God's love, mercy and wisdom may shine in through that bloody rent as it never shone before. It may be so broken up by penitence, humility and sorrow, as to receive the soft rain, and the kindly dews, and the warm sunshine, which never till now could penetrate its stony soil. Sin should *bring us to God*, not drive us away from His presence. Would you wish that your own child should shun you because he had fallen under temptation, and had forsaken God's way, and forgotten your teaching? *It is just then he needs you.* It is just then that no frown should be upon your brow, no harsh word upon your lips, but that your arms of protection, like a port of safety, should be open to receive and aid him. Your words should be, "You have sinned, my child; you have done wrong; you have gone astray; you are in danger of going astray still farther. Come, my child, let me try to help you: let us look up to God together, and ask Him to help us, and to forgive us, and to save you from that long transgression which would darken the whiteness of your soul, and which would indeed then separate you from Him, because the cloud of sin would gradually hide Him from you."

What man among us all, who knows God, would not rather come before Him, with all his sins about him, than before a tribunal of his fellow-men? What do *they* know? What can *they* see? Their thick, clumsy sight can discern only large, insulated facts; they look at the matter in the gross; they weigh overt deeds; they judge according to *their* evidence, and their apprehension of that evidence. But God sees ALL; and what comfort, even to the veriest sinner, may there not often be in that one conviction! He sees all—the sin and the trial—the sin and the nature that sank under the sin—the antecedents and the inevitable fruits. As sinners, we appeal from the condemnation of man to the judgment-seat of God!

But when those darker days spread their shadow over us; when sin has become the habit of the soul, instead of its occasional and exceptional transgression; when we have thereby lost the love of excellence and the loathing or the fear of vice; when *the character itself* is darkened,—then indeed we are fallen; then indeed we are no longer children of our Father; then indeed we are left to the solitude of a deserted soul, or to the companionship of all the evil spirits and dark, fleshly influences that we have preferred before Him. We have chosen to sink into the

lower regions of our nature, instead of aspiring towards those nobler and more heavenly elements that linked us to the spiritual world. Now there is indeed a veil between our souls and God; but the veil is not round Him—it is round ourselves.

* * * * *

February 7th, 1858.

S. G.

MEMOIR OF THE LATE REV. GEORGE ARMSTRONG, OF BRISTOL.*

MR. ARMSTRONG bestowed much time and thought on these letters, which give an interesting summary of his opinions and the state of his mind at this period; indeed, while writing them he seems to have more definitely settled his own theological position and its relation to the Unitarian church than he had ever done before.

Their effect on Blanco White was to convince him finally of the untenableness of the arguments by which he had tried to persuade himself “that there was enough of truth in the Church to which he had attached himself to justify the very slight connection which he had maintained with her for the last three years;”† and, consequently, the imperative duty of removing from the house of Archbishop Whately, and relinquishing the position he had hitherto held in that prelate’s family. He wrote to Mr. Armstrong announcing his intention, and adds in a postscript,—“I fear I have never thanked you for your instrumentality in rousing me to a sense of duty in regard to a truth of the utmost importance, which, though I had fully examined, circumstances had not allowed to penetrate my heart.”

Mr. A. thus mentions the receipt of this letter, and his subsequent interview with the writer, in his journal for 1835:‡

“Wednesday, January 7th. Received a letter from Mr. Blanco White, announcing his intended departure from Ireland. Prepared to proceed to Dublin the following morning to see and take leave of my interesting friend.

“Thursday, January 8th. Proceeded to Archbishop of Dublin’s, Stephen’s Green, where I had the happiness of meeting for the first time my friend and correspondent, Mr. Blanco White. Our conversation lasted an hour and a half, and was, of course, to me most interesting. Would I could recollect the terms of his beautiful letter to the Archbishop, which he shewed

* Continued from p. 94.

† See *Life of Blanco White*, Vol. II. p. 68.

‡ Some journals earlier than 1837 have been found since the publication of the first part of this Memoir.

me, but of which, from motives of delicacy, he refused me a copy! Saw his private journal of our late occurrences, with his admirable reflections. I could observe a tendency in his mind to German theology, which I must endeavour to arrest. Fine distinction he drew between *truth* and the *cause of truth*; between truth as ascertained by *fallible man*, and the cause of truth, which can only be upheld by inviting, rather than discouraging and reproaching, the independent, and, by necessity, the often erring prosecution of it. Took a very affectionate farewell of this singularly able and upright-minded man."

During the year 1834, Mr. Armstrong was also busy with politics, and contributed several papers connected with them to Tait's Magazine; one, on the Alliance of Church and State, in the number for March, entitled, "The Question of Questions;" another, on "The Morality of Party," in the April following; and "A Letter to Lord Brougham" on his opposition to the Anti-State-Church movement, in the number for July. Mr. Armstrong in after life very much modified his opinions on this latter subject; but at the time of which we are speaking, irritated by the gross injustice of forcing an alien Church on an unwilling people, and the iniquitous and cruel measures adopted in wringing tithes from a population impoverished by partial and bad legislation, he denounced the Established Church in Ireland in no measured terms. His kind heart bled with pity and his noble soul filled with indignation at the sight of armed policemen—sometimes, I believe, even soldiers—carrying off "the pots and the pans, the blankets and flannel petticoats, of the poor," to pay a bigoted priesthood without congregations, and with little pity for and no sympathy with their victims. No wonder, when excited by such scenes, and stimulated by views of religious liberty which had led him "to scale the walls of his prison-house," as he somewhere says, if his words were strong and his tone were loud and high. Many of his brilliant thoughts lie buried in that dead sea of literature, past numbers of newspapers and magazines; so it seems worth while to rescue a few sentences from one of the articles on the "Question of Questions," to shew how powerfully he wielded his pen in a righteous cause.

"Now the malt-tax is £4,000,000, and in the venerable name of Cocker we demand to be heard, when we dare aver that the Horse, Foot and Artillery, together with police, special commissions, and the machinery of law required to prop up the Church MILITANT in Ireland, do not fall much short of this agricultural tax. Here, then, is a practical question for the barley-growers of England! We are sorely pinched by the times, and grievously tormented by the exciseman; but the man at the Exchequer tells us he cannot afford to relieve us. Ought we, then, to look patiently on while the 39 Articles of Cranmer are piously stuck on the point of a bayonet, and presented to the Catholic people of Ireland, who, although they refuse the goods, are mercilessly made to pay the

price, at a cost of collection which would go near to relieve us of the burden under which we are sinking?

"There is not a tax-payer in Britain who may not express himself in similar terms. One and all, then, it behoves them to inquire and diligently to see to it, whether it be justice—we do not say to the sister country, but to their wives and little ones—to throw themselves on the parish, or live upon potato-bread and water-gruel, in order that the non-working clergy of one-twelfth of the people of Ireland may clothe themselves in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously in the midst of an obstinately recusant and rack-rent population. . . .

"Now we confess there is not a service to the nation and to mankind in which we should more heartily embark than the pulling their disguise off these political maskers, who, *inheriting their opinions as they do their estates*, yet, at every hustings in the country, surrounded by their drunken or venal or bigot partizans, presume to take the name of religion on their lips, and preach up the necessity (we are prepared to maintain what we say) of promulgating the Gospel of grace and truth and peace by the unhallowed intervention of dragooning, and the brutal propagandism of the sword! Who that ever asked himself, or ever sincerely inculcated on the conscience of another, that mighty question, 'What is truth?' could tranquilly endure the imagination of its diffusion being, even remotely, connected with so barbarous and unholy an instrumentality? And yet there are actually men who, dealing out their solemn phrases about 'that pure creed of Protestantism' which they and their abettors pretend to 'enjoy,' but about which they would think themselves affronted if it were imputed to them that they had ever spontaneously set themselves deliberately to think for half an hour together in their lives,—such men there are, who, resorting to agencies which the Redeemer himself would have shrunk from in behalf of the living and actual Gospel, would drain England of her uttermost farthing, and Ireland of her last drop of blood, for the maintenance of dogmas which they have never examined.

"We meet at once the objection of which sophistry will be prompt to avail itself. We will not permit these persons to delude us by the evasion that it is not for the enforcement of religion, but *the protection of property*, that they consent to see Ireland bristling with bayonets. *Curtail the religion of all but the voluntary support of the people, and violence will cease to be needed.* Give to religion the right to exact from a reluctant population the means of its outward support, and it not only becomes, *but you make it*, the occasion of every drop of blood which is shed. He who, regardless of the anterior and inalienable rights of others, does that, in the name of Religion, which he knows will be followed by the impulse to defend those anterior rights, makes religion directly responsible for all the consequences. . . .

"If ever, however, there were circumstances in a controversy to gratify to his heart's content the lover of truth and right, these circumstances are found to overflowing in the question now pending between England and Ireland. Ireland, the Popish, the dark, the trodden, the despised, heaving with a spirit which is destined to enlighten Europe! Ireland, out of the very depths of her ignorance, teaching Britain how to legislate!

"Is it not so, thou Graham of Netherby? And is it not accordingly

written, that the very harlots go into the kingdom of God before the self-applauding priest and Pharisee? Strange but much-teaching fact, that out of the *creed-stricken hosts of Popery* a voice is going forth, which is sending the Protestant to his horn-book, to learn the principles of his own Protestantism; and Superstition herself exerting her might in a cause which it is the stigma and the curse of the Reformation to have left incomplete! For what is it Ireland seeks? Simply that the magistrate should mind his own affairs; and, *keeping the peace* between dissentients, leave the saving of souls to those whom the people appoint and are willing to pay for that peculiar service;—in short, *she seeks to be left alone*; and, without an Ascendancy which her people discard—but with the aid of Education, which they are eager to accept—to take her chance for truth or error, as time and knowledge, and long-withheld repose, under the eye of an all-disposing Providence, may eventually direct. Is this what her imperious partner has been willing to concede? No!"

In his article on the "Morality of Party," he had a congenial subject, which he treats with great ability, advocating the necessity of a regard for "measures" and not for "men." With reference to these articles, Mr. Tait writes to him as follows:

"Edinburgh, 22nd March, 1834.

"My dear Sir,—I have printed your 'Morality of Party,' and made it the leader, although by so doing I have made the number too political for the general reader, and the general reader I must please, otherwise I can do no good at all. Your articles are all full of sound and excellent views. They are learned, well considered, and well expressed. I have no fault to find with them but their length, and that fault is not in them, but in my own want of room.

"When you send me a paper, consider, for the occasion, you are writing to the Examiner, and you will exactly hit the length that is best for me—best for me because best for the public. If you take up Short Parliaments, however, that must be a long paper. The article on 'Pledges,' I shall give as early as I can; but my next number must be light; this one will be considered heavy.

"My new scheme is succeeding bravely. I now operate on a very large portion of the public mind.

"Yours, &c., W. TAIT."

He had a peculiar zest for politics, and was never happier nor more at home than in the consideration and discussion of the *res publicæ*. From early youth he took an interest in this "great branch of public morals;" and the rise and fall of empires, the struggles for liberty, and the influence of legislation on the advance of civilization and "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," were subjects of his most attentive study. As a minister of the gospel, a profession of which he was always proud, and a title to which through all changes of theological opinions and

external position he tenaciously and affectionately clung, he considered politics an important part of his duty, and one particularly fitting that sacred calling. This is not the opinion of many people, who think a clergyman should hold himself aloof from the strifes and struggles of the lower world; and so thought some of Mr. Armstrong's friends; for among his papers I have found the following letter of justification to a near relative who had evidently reproached him with an unbecoming zeal in the maintenance or defence of his views of politics:

“Extract of a letter to A—, dated

“Bingfield, February, 1822.

“By the bye, I thought you might have been *amused*, but could hardly suppose you could have been really ‘shocked,’ at the casual expression I used in reference to I—’s stability of principle in his political life. I should rather say, indeed, C—; for *your own* expressions are so little *evangelical*—to say the least of them—that I can scarcely accuse *you* of any great severity of sentiment on the occasion. It is evident she has as yet some sad materials to work upon in you, if you imagine that ‘pecuniary’ independence is the only thing of that name worth preserving. I wish you were a little bit of an historian, as I could then point out some examples which might instruct you: and, among the rest, honest Andrew Marvell and his cold shoulder of mutton. He was Member for Hull in the time of Charles II., and, while sitting at his simple repast, behaved with such Roman dignity when Lord Danby, the King’s Prime Minister, did him the honour of calling to *compliment him* in his Majesty’s name, as must even have extorted the admiration of a Methodist. To invoke Heaven for the blessing of such ‘independence’ as this man exhibited to the staggered courtier, might not perhaps have been considered very heathenish in the best days of Christianity; certain it is, the author of Philippians iv. 8, would not have so thought; but our ‘good people’ of modern days have found out that these were the weak points of St. Paul.

“By these remarks I merely wish to point out the true nature of ‘independence,’ not at all supposing that our friend is in any danger of an interested departure from his opinions in such good company as I take Lord Lansdowne to be. But when I found you talking of the subsidence of ‘youthful exaggeration,’ and recollected the examples of apostacy in his profession,—such as Gifford, Copley, Leach, Best, &c. &c., all the present *bien obligés* of the present administration, though all formerly their avowed enemies in the House of Commons, and the friends of that popular policy which the majority of honest and reflecting men are now more eagerly than ever looking for,—I was naturally enough led to the reflection in question.

“What youthful exaggerations of opinion I— may have

begun to repent of, I know not; I have never heard him, I believe, go to greater lengths than the wisest, or, if you please, the oldest and the gravest men have gone before him. These *old men*, travelling in the steps of Mr. Fox, are saying the same things every year of their lives; and I could recommend to him no better opinions, nor desire any better for myself, than those which the Greys, the Erskines and the Mackintoshes, seem likely to take with them to the grave.

“As to the impropriety of a clergyman thinking of those matters, I must observe, that there is not a clergyman in the land whose opinions are not as fixed—I will not say, *deliberate*—as my own. ‘To prefer what we have, and to remain where we are, is *to choose just as decidedly* as if we did the contrary,’ as Sismondi says; and *this is their case*. In the next place, ‘politics being an essential branch of public morals,’ and being treated as such by most moral writers, I assert the right, and oftentimes the duty, of every clergyman to interfere, restrained only by decency and good sense. To say the truth, however, I have no wish to see them much encouraged in this interference, as it unfortunately happens that the Established clergy in all states almost uniformly interfere on the wrong side—that is, on the side of power; and the more arbitrary that power, the more firm their adherence. This is historically true, and *the injury arising to religion* from this intimacy between human governments and its ministers is incalculable. Were it otherwise, *Attorneys-General* would have little to do in its behalf; religion would stand on its own proper grounds, unconcerned at the temporary agitations of the State: the people would universally *respect*, because they would no longer have occasion to *suspect*, it.

“I said these remarks on the clergy were historically true. We see the thing at this moment in France; the *old* Royalist and old Church parties are all in all. Our ancestors have seen the same thing in England long enough after the Reformation; but, thanks to that great and salutary instrument, public opinion, that body are less obnoxious now than in former times. Now what is this ‘public opinion’? Is it not essentially made up of the impressions of individuals like you and me? And the more such individuals make use of their reason on the public events of their country, the more worthy are they of living under that constitution in its perfection, which placemen, sycophants and ignoramuses, are everlastingly extolling in its corruptions.

“In short, whether you stamp me as another Sir Harcourt—worthy similitude!—or call it ‘youthful exaggeration’—though, by the bye, I am getting pretty tough now—or describe it as you or others may,—I look upon politics as a subject of morals, as a subject of philosophy, as a part of the history of man; and I cannot behold the perversion of one of the most glorious of human institutions, which I look upon the British Constitution,

in its genuine spirit and tendency, from its earliest annals to be, without feeling some portion of indignation at the successive agents of that perversion.

“Mr. Pitt himself, after the example of his illustrious father, had once the boldness to affirm,—and a hundred times, indeed, the same thing, under a variety of phrases,—that without a recovery from those perversions—in other words, without a Parliamentary Reform—*no honest Minister could serve his country.* Mr. Wilberforce has said that ‘influence meets every man at every corner;’ and what is this but such a predominant power in the Crown as reduces the representative principle to an absolute nullity? Why, A—— man, I don’t despair to see yourself begin to reason about these things. See our brother farmers in England, hitherto the too willing, because interested, supporters of extravagance,—see how they are turning round, amazed at the weight of a debt of 840,000,000 of pounds sterling upon their shoulders!

“Mr. Webb Hall recommends high duties; the people see the nonsense of this, and perceive at last that an unsparing retrenchment of the public profusions is the only remedy. The wonder is, how any one can look at those figures, and recollect also *how* the yearly millions are squandered which are still wrung from the country *over and above* the annual interest of the millions owed, making in all upwards of fifty millions a-year in this time of peace, and hold his tongue. A still greater wonder it is, that any one, whether lay or clerical, could be blamed for pondering upon these enormous truths, and all their consequences to the country, both at home and abroad, predicted too, as they know them to have been, years upon years ago, by some of the greatest luminaries in the senate. The wonder *does cease*, however, when it appears that none but those who have *never troubled their heads about the matter*, or the more despicable tools of an avenging party, could think of offering such blame. Our country is the sphere of everything dear to us, the nurse of our religion, the inheritance of our children, and no man ought to be ashamed of wishing to see her more wisely and happily managed.

“So much for ‘youthful exaggeration.’ Believe me,” &c. &c.

Mr. Armstrong was thirty years of age when he wrote this letter. We have seen him consistently following the same independent and generous course of action till he was twelve years older; and we shall see him, like “the Greys, the Erskines and the Mackintoshes,” carrying these noble principles with him to the grave.

But it was not in politics only that his prudent friends and relatives thought it necessary occasionally to check his “youthful exaggeration.” His growing dislike to orthodoxy alarmed them, and his proneness to speak his mind evidently called forth many

an exhortation to have patience with the prejudices, and not to declare war against the established opinions, of the world of fashion and of power. While, however, it was useless to recommend silence to George Armstrong on subjects so sacred and important—subjects on the right understanding of which he felt depended the welfare of the world as well as the peace of his own conscience—it was not difficult to secure moderation in the publication, and infinite care in the formation, of his opinions. Of these elements in his character, and of its deep sincerity, the following entries in his private journal at the end of the year 1834, give a fair idea:

“December 29. Looked over most of Archbishop Whately’s works, and the justly-famed ‘Essays on Opinion,’—my object being to re-consider, as I was perfectly ready to re-approve, the arguments in favour of forming and *communicating* our thoughts on moral and religious subjects.

“December 31. Wrote in my ‘Thought-book’ on Assurance in Religion and on the Promulgation of Opinion. Day soft, with wind and rain. Heard a thrush sing.”

He closes these thoughts on the “Promulgation of Opinion,” with such charitable, gentle sentiments as the following:

“But, after all, however defensible and meritorious, abstractedly considered, the duty may seem of bringing opinions, whether our own or those of others, to the test of discussion, the great practical objection remains, that *no good* is to be effected by such efforts. Prejudices may be assailed and friendships be endangered; but if opinions remain the same, wherefore incur so great and close an evil, in the contemplation of a remote and doubtful and hardly attainable good?

“When it is assumed as a condition, that the holder of an unfavoured opinion shall never undertake its defence but in the spirit of meekness and fear, of love and of a sound mind, is it not at least likely that, though the persuasion may remain unaltered, the prejudice will be less embittered? And surely this is *something* gained. And is it not plain that, the spirit of denunciation being once weakened, a barrier to the intercommunication of minds is proportionally shaken, and the possibility of a nearer approach to unanimity on controverted points prodigiously facilitated?

“In this labour, the work of a single individual may be of small amount. But it is of infinite consequence to remember the maxim which has guided, sustained and encouraged all the great and good who have ever worked in the service of mankind—all who have laboured for the diffusion of truth, justice and wisdom, throughout the earth, that ‘no effort is lost.’

“Even the greatest of minds have but rarely perceived in the sympathy of their times the homage which awaits them from a grateful posterity. Yet how much the world would have been

a loser, if the timid, or despairing, or selfish counsels of contemporaries had overpowered or impaired their desire of adding to the moral and intellectual wealth of their species!"

The education of his children, society, study and literary composition, continued to occupy his time during the year 1835. The first half of it was spent in the house of his brother at Kilsharvan, but at Midsummer he moved, with his family, into one of his own in Dublin. A few extracts from his diary and his correspondence will best illustrate his way of life, which was ever of the same useful, contemplative, consistent tenor.

"Wednesday, Jan. 21, 1835. In the house all day. Much occupied in reflecting on the strange notions of my evangelical friends touching the doctrine of spiritual visitations. Now it ought to be decisive of the controversy that our Lord teaches that the Spirit itself is only to be had *by asking* for it, Luke xi. 13. The expression, 'No man can come to me except the Father draw him,' appears to be of much the same import as that, 'If any man will do the will of God, he shall know of the doctrine;' that is, unless a person has been in the habit of acting *in the spirit of truth and cultivating communion with God* according to the light he has had, he will not be capable and will not be disposed to give my claims to his belief a favourable hearing;—which exactly tallies with that other intimation, 'This is the condemnation, that men love darkness better than light, because their deeds are evil.' See Matt. xiii. 12, &c., and then John xii. 40.

"Thursday, 22nd. Walked a good deal with Mrs. A. Engaged with same meditations as yesterday. Have collected some, I would hope useful, results for future production.

"Luke xi. 6, and James iv. 8 and i. 5, do not look much in favour of the fanatical notion of 'prevenient grace.' Read Old Mortality aloud in the parlour. Battle of London Hill, &c.

"Friday, January 23rd. Occupied with the same subject as yesterday. It seems strikingly plain, upon calm and meditative investigation, that this doctrine of the Spirit, after all, is more a theological form of speech than the expression of a truth which Scripture really warrants, considered with reference to Christians in latter times. The spirit, in point of fact, is the *inward man*, which St. Paul so instructively places in opposition to the *flesh*, in Romans vii. 15, 23; and it is the following this guide which is called 'following the spirit,' in the nearly parallel passage in Galatians v. 16, 17. These two passages, properly considered, ought to put an end to the controversy.

"Sunday, January 25th. Reading Professor Norton's work on the Trinity, &c. Delighted with his affecting and beautiful conclusion.

"Monday, 26th. Received a letter from Liverpool from Blanco White. Read over and noted two letters of his admirable projected work."

He was at this time reading and noting Mr. Blanco White's manuscript of the work on Heresy and Orthodoxy, at the desire of that gentleman.

"Friday, March 13th. A long letter from Dr. Channing. A letter from Blanco White, desiring to leave his papers, by will, to my care.

"Wednesday, March 25th. Day of surpassing loveliness. Out the whole morning, studying Bentham, Mackintosh, and Utilitarian Catechism on the Theory of Morals. Received a very gratifying letter from Mr. Blanco White. Splendid paper in the Spectator newspaper on the subject of the 'Swiss Liberties.'

"Thursday, March 26th. Received a most gratifying letter from Mr. Martineau."

Mr. Armstrong's third paper on the "Question of Questions" appeared in Tait's Magazine for this month of March, and he mentions in his diary a visit to the Chamber of Commerce in Dublin, "to see the file of the Sun, in which my paper in Tait is much applauded."*

He generally passed his Sundays at home, reading the service for the day from the Revised Book of Common Prayer in the library or drawing-room, and a sermon of Paley or Channing or some other favourite author; but he did not entirely absent himself from the public worship of the Church of England, as the following curious correspondence shews:

To the Rev. George N——.

"Kilsharvan, April 19th, 1835.

"Dear Sir,—Although I have not the pleasure of being more than slightly acquainted with you, you will, I am sure, as a Christian teacher, forgive the liberty which I, as a Christian inquirer, feel impelled to take in soliciting some further development of the views which it was my fortune to hear you deliver from your pulpit on Good Friday last. In order to prevent misconception and surprise, give me leave to premise that, although educated to the clerical profession and for some time a beneficed minister of the Established Church, it is now a considerable period since my mind became seriously impressed by the complicated and, at length, insuperable difficulties,—arising, as I conceive, as well from internal absurdity, as from the absence of all satisfactory scriptural testimony,—by which the creed of my church was encumbered, and since, consequently, I was induced to sever myself from all professional connection with her.

"The Stanley and Graham plan of Church Reform is ably and mercilessly shewn up by our stout Radical friend Tait this month. Not a leg does he leave these unhappy statesmen to stand upon. The article is in his best manner, and will flash conviction on the minds of all who are not duller of comprehension than 'the fat weed that rots on Lethe's wharf.'"—*Sun Newspaper*, March, 1835.

“In this state of mind I have been for some years, not regretting certainly my secession, which it rendered imperative upon me, because I have been supported by a sense of duty, and a perception that the unfettered investigation of truth which it involved was in itself a consolation, and conferred a dignity on my intellectual being unfelt before; yet not so rigid a separatist either, as to feel myself precluded from occasionally, as accident or circumstances might lead, presenting myself in such places of worship or such churches as the character of the clergyman officiating therein might prompt me to hope, if not for entire satisfaction, at least for a balance of spiritual good. Thus feeling and thus hoping, I was induced for the first time to visit your church on Good Friday, and to be among the number of your hearers on that day. May I be excused for saying that the experiment was not attended with the effect anticipated; and that some propositions were avowed in your discourse which distressed, and had my ideas been less settled on the subject would have perplexed, me not a little.

“It was in truth with more than ordinary pain I heard it declared—nay, insisted on as the crowning mercy of Heaven and the theme of everlasting gratitude to man—‘either that the Bible was a book of fables, or that Christ who died on the cross was actually himself the Supreme and Everlasting God’!

“On such occasions it is something at least to be in the hands of a person who is *not* a fanatic, but who *is* a scholar,—a character, I believe, which is applicable to you. It appears, then, to me that a sober thinker would incline to admit that there *was one other possibility* which might have had a place in the number of the conclusions to which the choice of your hearers was invited; and that the enumeration would have been more complete, more logical, as it would certainly have been more tolerant, had you added—‘or else I may have mistaken the true import of the language of Holy Writ.’ That such a contingency, so possible and so human, was the more likely to occur to a reasonable man upon his recollecting, as any man acquainted with the controversy could hardly fail to do, how many admirable and worthy believers in the truth of divine revelation there have been—Milton among the number—nay more, how many invaluable defenders of that truth—I need only mention the name of Lardner—there have been who both would deny and have denied, with all their might and strength, the legitimacy of the very startling conclusion—I restrain myself from qualifying it by any stronger epithet—you so broadly and uncompromisingly affirmed in the discourse alluded to.”

Then follows a powerfully written argument against the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, and exposure of the contradictions it involves, which it is not necessary to introduce here. The clergyman replies as follows:

“May 1, 1835.

“My dear Sir,—On looking this moment at your letter, I feel ashamed that I have not answered you before this. Truth is the best apology. Your letter, dated 13th ult., I did not receive until the 26th, being from home during the holidays; and a gentleman came back with me, who never allowed me to be alone for one minute, I may say, until he left me yesterday.

“In truth, your letter puzzles me; but the puzzle is not to me a new one. I never could answer satisfactorily the arguments it contains, nor do I believe they *can* be answered. However, these arguments do not shake my faith in the doctrine; though, as I have said already, they appear to me to be *unanswerable*—and more you surely do not want me to concede. The doctrine of the Trinity is, I think, not a proposition according to reason,—nor yet contrary to reason, but above reason, therefore matter of revelation and the object of faith. Revelation appears to me to be explicit on the point, and reason’s province is in such a case to be dumb. The Bible says it is so, and you have brought no argument to shew it does not say so. If it be not a revealed doctrine, I give it up; but arguments from reason only will, I think, never do. I feel obliged by your communication, and the kind and gentlemanlike bearing that runs through your eloquent epistle. Most truly yours, &c. S. N.”

This answer produced another letter from Mr. Armstrong, with the argument from the Bible against the doctrine of the Trinity; but there the correspondence seems to have ended.

He was a great deal occupied at this time with the subject of National Education for Ireland. On April 27th, he writes,—“Went to Dublin in the jaunting car to the meeting at Strand Street. Brilliant success for three parts of my speech on National Education, and then a lapse of memory! However, retrieved myself pretty well, and believe gave much satisfaction.”

The following copy of a letter to Sir John, then Dr. Bowring, also gives another glimpse of his thoughts and studies:

“Kilsharvan, 23rd May, 1835.

“My dear Sir,—Since I had last the pleasure of communicating with you, opportunity has arisen for congratulation at the amended aspect of public affairs. But I own there is appearance of fearful work before the Reformers; and I anticipate your concurrence in my deep and settled conviction that they will be utterly powerless to stem the tide of Conservative energy and daring, without the all-important protection of the Ballot. Yet, perhaps, the Tories may effect less by daring than by dogged perseverance. Sir Robert Peel has well advised them to beware of ‘coups d’état.’ In that way they would gain little. The spirit of the nation would be roused; and it is their better policy to wear it out, which they assuredly will do unless we can stimulate

the people to press boldly, eagerly, incessantly, for that obvious and necessary complement of the Reform Bill, 'the power of exerting freely, without displeasure or fear thereof,' as Lord Coke says—'without bribery or hope thereof'—the electoral privilege which the Legislature by that Act professed to put into their hands. Every day, every hour I live, the more convinced I am that above all other questions—for all others are involved in it—this is the one most deserving of every thought and effort of Reformers:—*hic labor, hoc opus est!* On the last occasion, as it was indeed the first, that Mr. Grote addressed the House of Commons on this subject, he was good enough to forward me a copy of his truly admirable speech. Whether I am again to be so fortunate as to be similarly favoured I know not; but I shall little regret being forgotten, in the fulness of my joy, should his eloquence and reasoning, gaining strength from the memorable and ever shameful contest in Devon, extort from the wavering liberalism of his hearers, on the next occasion of his appeal to them, a concession of the great question with which his reputation is bound up.

"I have but recently finished the first vol. of 'Deontology,' a subject which has many attractions for me. Yet, decided as I am in Utilitarianism, I am not as yet sure that I have derived, or am about to derive, all the additional light for which I was prepared, on taking up a work on that subject by the great founder, if we may so say, of that system himself. I am yet to learn *how far* the influence of his principles would carry a moral agent in the service of his fellow-creatures. Sympathy, association, habit, these all will do much in the infusion of generous impulses; but upon the strictly Utilitarian principle, as expounded by Bentham, and considered in the light of self-regarding prudence, in reference to this world only, what is there in the theory of that philosopher which would, I do not say impel, but even *warrant* a man in sacrificing his LIFE for the benefit of his country or of his fellow-creature? which is a case to which Bentham adverts (Vol. I. pp. 163-4), but of whose OBLIGATION I have as yet found no proof whatever in his system.

"There is part of a note, very much to the purpose on this subject, in Wainwright's *Vindication of Paley's Theory of Morals*, pp. 109—111 (an excellent work, in my opinion), which puts the thing in its true light, and of which I could wish for the benefit of your opinion. Connected with a *future life*, all is intelligible, and Utilitarianism is carried to its highest perfection. But without this, I can only say with Cicero,—not always in unison with himself, I admit—(*Tusc. Quest. i. 15*), and very much in the spirit of the apostle, *1 Cor. xv. 19*, '*Quo quidem dempto, quis tam esset AMENS qui semper in laboribus et periculis viveret.*' In a Utilitarian Catechism, very ably done (Effingham Wilson, 1830), there would seem to be the same view

taken, in Nos. 43, 44, 46; a tract conceived in the most absolute spirit of devotion to Bentham, and which I can hardly doubt that you have met with.

“Speaking of Wainewright’s work, I am reminded of a passage in a letter I lately had from Dr. Channing, to whose attention, owing to some doctrines in his writings of a rather sentimental or stoical complexion, I had taken occasion to recommend that work. In reply, Dr Channing thus writes: ‘I have read Wainewright’s book, but I am no convert to the doctrine of expediency or utility. I think it at war with our deepest moral convictions. The doctrine is held by good men and wise ones, but I feel as if to me it would be a blighting influence. This is one of the topics on which I wish to write.’

“And this, assuredly, is a topic upon which his reflecting admirers—and we both rejoice that these are so many—must desire that such a pen as Channing’s should not commit itself to hasty writing or false and feeble reasoning.

“Pray may I expect the favour of a few lines when at all convenient, and meantime be allowed to assure you how much I am,” &c. &c.

“June 1. Received a very obliging and interesting letter from Dr. Bowring. His blame and distrust of the Whigs. His interesting reference to Channing.”

On June 3rd, there is the following painful entry in his journal: “Smoked till three o’clock this morning, and did not sleep until four;”—the first allusion to the cruel disease which so destroyed the future comfort of his life, and eventually brought him to a comparatively premature end.

“June 12. Finished the Ballot debate. Mr. Grote a giant among babies.

“July 16. Meditating an assault (*in the papers!*) on the ‘miserables’ at Exeter Hall.

“July 24. Drew up petition to the two Houses for a revival of the Established Liturgy.

“September 23. Dr. Armstrong (of Dublin) and his two sons spent the evening with us. Interesting account of his Genevan tour and his conversation with Sismondi about myself. Meets Rev. Mr. Channing, nephew of the Doctor. Attends Presbyterian service and catechising in a rural church in the pass of the Jura. Visits Erasmus’ school and monument at Basle, the former Basil.”

In the month of October, Mr. Armstrong contributed another article to Tait on the “Question of Questions,” which excited the same favourable notice as his previous essays.

“December 8. Visited Dr. Armstrong. Much pleased with his delightful manner and conversation. Happy effects at Geneva from the Jubilee. 120 heads of Catholic families have given in their adhesion to that Unitarian church.”

Mr. Armstrong being now resident in Dublin, he was a frequent attendant at Strand-Street chapel, where his namesake officiated.

"December 14. Read over some parts of Victor Cousin's somewhat rhapsodical History of Ethics. His mean opinion of English philosophy and idolatry of the German, &c. &c."

And so the year 1835 passed away.

MR. W. R. WOOD ON HIS RECENT LETTERS ON COLLEGE AFFAIRS.

SIR,

SINCE the appearance in your pages of two letters of mine on the conduct of Mr. Martineau with reference to Mr. G. V. Smith, various documents on the subject have been laid before the College annual meeting. I need not dwell upon the subject further than to state that I have listened attentively to the correspondence read at the meeting, and that this correspondence in no degree removes the impressions which I had previously entertained and expressed.

WM. RAYNER WOOD.

Singleton Lodge, near Manchester, Jan. 25, 1858.

MR. RYLAND'S ADDITIONS TO THE ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES OF MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE.

SIR,

THE annual meeting of the College Trustees being the legitimate occasion for the expression of opinion on the proceedings of the Committee, we naturally look for a full and accurate report of it; above all, when questions of unusual interest are involved. The necessities of your last publication having in a degree precluded this, I beg leave to supply, so far as I am myself concerned, a few deficiencies; which, however, I should not care to do, but that in one or two instances they concern vital points as yet not cleared up.

(1.) On passing the minutes from which Mr. Martineau's vindictory letter was read, I observed that in it Mr. Martineau, in assigning his reasons for excluding Mr. Smith from a Professorship, acted on and avowed the very *test* which from the very beginning had been the cause of all our debates. My remark was met by cries of No, no, but not the slightest disproof was offered. I said also, I thought it to be greatly lamented, and to me inexplicable, that Mr. Kenrick and Mr. Tayler, after having, from the first, persevered in recommending the restoration of Mr. Smith to a chief part of his former office, should all at once have desisted from so doing, and that this was the more to be regretted on account of the impossibility of finding what was wanted any where else.

(2.) On passing the Report of the Committee, I objected to a very long extract from the Principal's Address at the opening of the session in October, and, as you say, to the re-assertion of the principle of freedom of inquiry on which the College is founded. I observed, it seemed

like either an apology for the election of the present Professor or a reflection on another party. Not moving any amendment on this part of it, however, I *did* move one on the last paragraph, which, I observed, gave the impression that Mr. Bowman's paper was solely concerned with Mr. Martineau's alleged interference in his son's appointment; that, as a matter of fact, it was not so; and that for that reason, and in justice alike to Mr. Bowman and Mr. Martineau, such an impression ought not to be given. My amendment was seconded by Mr. Colston, but, after the exciting opposition of Mr. Field, rejected.

(3.) I wish I could supply to you Mr. Bache's clear and impregnable reasons for rescinding Mr. Field's objectionable resolutions of April last, or at least for substituting others in their place—evidently the more impregnable from the nature and vehemence of the opposition they excited. My remark on this part of the day's proceedings was this, and I particularly wish to put it upon record, viz., that at the April meeting last year, the parties now insisting on the retention of Mr. Field's resolutions had rather dissuaded him from persevering in them, because the opposite party, against whom they were directed, had fully cleared themselves from the imputation of setting up a test (Mr. Thom distinctly said this, when Mr. Field introduced his resolutions at the meeting of April 16th): why should they now wish to retain them, the true grounds for the election of Professors having been incontrovertibly supplied in Mr. Bache's proposed alterations? These considerations, however, were lost in the excitement of the occasion. When we have done what we can, though without avail, to redress what we deem a public or a private wrong, we can then only await in confidence the unerring vindication of retributory event.

February 18, 1858.

J. H. RYLAND.

MR. BOWMAN ON SOME OMISSIONS IN THE ACCOUNT OF THE COLLEGE TRUSTEES' MEETING.

SIR,

IN your very condensed account of the recent College meeting, you report with considerable distinctness passages in which the severest censures are passed upon me, while no distinct mention is made of anything said in reply by others or myself. I am very far from complaining that your readers should be fully informed how angry some of Mr. Martineau's friends were with me for disclosing to the Trustees transactions of which he himself, last June, would fain have kept them ignorant; but it is not unreasonable that you should also mention some things which were brought out on the other side of the question, and which would doubtless have appeared in the *Reformer*, had your limits allowed a somewhat fuller report.

Your readers should know, then, that though my imputations were termed "most unfounded," no fact,—certainly no essential fact,—stated by me was *disproved*. On the contrary, so far as one of the principal parties (Mr. Kenrick) was concerned, there was an express admission, in a letter read to the meeting, that my statement, as to matters of fact, required no contradiction. It is true that Mr. Thom, assuming, as he said, the truth of Mr. Martineau's explanatory letter, boldly

asserted that Mr. M. never interfered after his son was named in connection with the Hebrew lectureship. But you omit to mention that I at once unequivocally contradicted this, and offered complete proof. The interference was in June; for a Committee meeting summoned for the 17th of that month, was countermanded in consequence of it; but Mr. R. Martineau was named certainly in May, as appeared from testimonials read at the meeting.

Your report shows that Mr. Martineau's friends sedulously represented the offered defence as a complete refutation of the charges, and called on the Trustees accordingly to confirm the acquittal pronounced by a majority in the Committee; while I appear by my silence to have not only acquiesced in these representations, but wanted candour to confess myself confuted, and withdraw my charges. Your readers therefore should know, that several Trustees, as well as I, gave the meeting very clearly to understand that we found the defence anything but satisfactory. I several times distinctly repeated the main charge of illegal interference with the execution of a resolution of the Committee; and, referring to an amendment previously read from the minutes, insisted on the important principle that private, unauthorized arrangements between Professors can have no validity as against the legitimate executive of the College.

Perhaps I said less than I ought to have done in support of a principle which to some Trustees seemed not to be self-evident; and this may account for the omissions in your report. But as the Committee had accepted, and the Trustees present were evidently ready to accept, the doctrine of Mr. Martineau's explanatory letter, that a resolution of Committee *had to be carried out subject to a condition privately made by himself with a colleague, without the sanction or knowledge of the Committee*, it was evidently superfluous to argue the matter further, or appeal to what has hitherto been the constitution of the College.

Manchester, February 22, 1858.

E. BOWMAN.

[Our correspondent is clearly entitled to supplement by his explanations the brief report we gave last month, which was of necessity hurriedly prepared and printed. We have in previous Nos. expressed our own and some correspondents' opinions on Mr. Martineau's interdict on the re-appointment of Rev. G. V. Smith, and have heard and read nothing to alter our opinion on the matter. But in drawing up the account of the annual meeting, finding it impossible to report in detail one-fourth part of what took place, we gave designed prominence to the expressions of Mr. Martineau's friends on the subject. Here, as far as our pages are concerned, the matter must for the present drop. Time must now decide the question whether the Professors of Manchester New College are capable, or not, of fulfilling their repeated professions, and of conducting the education of our future ministers in an impartial and catholic spirit. If, forgetting all personal and party considerations growing out of the past struggle, they devote themselves to the important work entrusted to them by the Trustees, and seek not to reproduce in their pupils their own beliefs and disbeliefs, but strive above all things to make them faithful, able and learned ministers of Christ's holy gospel, they will deserve the respect and gratitude of all the friends of the Institution, and we believe they will obtain it (as freely as from others) from those who have felt it to be their painful duty to resist their appointment as the sole teachers of theology in the College. Ed. C. R.]

INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS OF LONDON AND WESTMINSTER.

On Tuesday, Feb. 9, this ancient body had the honour of presenting an Address of congratulation to the Queen at Buckingham Palace, on occasion of the Marriage of the Princess Royal. The deputation consisted of most of the members of the body, with a few visitors from the provinces—Revds. T. Madge, J. J. Tayler, J. Martineau, E. Tagart, Ph. Le Breton, H. Hutton, L. Lewis, T. L. Marshall, W. Forster, Dr. Harrison, Dr. Cromwell, Dr. Sadler, H. Ierson, C. L. Corkran, W. H. Channing, W. A. Jones, W. James, E. Talbot and M. Davidson. Her Majesty was seated on the Throne; the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales were on her left; and on both sides were high officers of State and other usual attendants. The following Address was read by Mr. Madge:

“May it please your Majesty,

“We, your Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Presbyterian Denomination, residing in and about the cities of London and Westminster, approach the Throne with sentiments of profound respect and devoted attachment, to offer to your Majesty our sincere and hearty congratulations on the auspicious event of the Marriage of your Daughter, the Princess Royal, with His Royal Highness Prince Frederick William of Prussia. We earnestly trust that the union thus formed may be a long and happy one, fulfilling all the best hopes and wishes of your Majesty’s heart, and that of your Illustrious Consort.

“May it also be attended with results favourable to the cause of freedom, humanity and peace, and be the means of more closely uniting the two Kingdoms of England and Prussia in the bonds of reciprocal interest and mutual friendship.

“With our fellow-countrymen at large, we are grateful for the example set by your Majesty and your Majesty’s Consort, of those domestic virtues and charities, so important to the good order and welfare of society, and which adorn alike the Palace and the Cottage.

“Long may the guardian care of Divine Providence preserve to us that example, to shed its benign influence on the minds of the people over whom, and in the hearts of whom, your Majesty happily reigns.

“It is our fervent prayer to Him who is the Giver of all good, that the choicest of Heaven’s blessings may rest upon your

Majesty, your Majesty’s Illustrious Consort, and every member of your Royal House.”

Her Majesty read the following gracious Reply:

“I accept with much satisfaction this renewed assurance of your devoted attachment, and I thank you sincerely for the affectionate wishes which you have expressed for the happiness of my beloved Daughter, and of the excellent Prince to whom she is united.

“I fervently join in your prayer that this auspicious event, which more closely unites my own Kingdom and that of Prussia, will, under God’s blessing, promote the welfare and true interests of both these nations.”

Mr. Madge, having been introduced by Dr. Sadler, Hon. Sec., kissed hands, as also did Dr. Sadler and Mr. Tagart.

On withdrawing from the Queen’s presence, the Ministers were shortly ushered into the presence of the Prince Consort, to whom the following Address, read by Mr. Tayler, was presented:

“May it please your Royal Highness,

“We, the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the English Presbyterian Denomination, residing in and about the cities of London and Westminster, approaching your Royal Highness with our accustomed feelings of sincere respect for your exemplary fulfilment of the public duties of your exalted station as the Prince Consort of these realms, beg leave more particularly at this time to offer you, as a Father, our hearty congratulations on the Marriage of your eldest Child with the Son of an illustrious House. On this joyful occasion we cannot refrain from intermingling our common human sympathies with the sentiments of unfeigned loyalty which ever animate us towards yourself and your august Lady, our beloved Queen.

“We regard it as an auspicious omen of future happiness that your Daughter will take with her into new scenes and a land of strangers, the pure manners, the elevated sentiments, the refined and rational tastes, and that reverence for justice, religion and humanity, which she has acquired in her own virtuous and happy home. We pray that she may long be preserved, in the high destiny which probably awaits her, to diffuse these holy and beneficent influences. Permit us to express our fervent hope that she may win for herself the genuine homage and loyal

devotion of a great people, so closely allied in faith and lineage with ourselves, and whose moral qualities and high civilization must predispose them to a friendly appreciation of the character of a Princess, who has been nurtured from her childhood in the principles of constitutional freedom, and who has learnt from the example of her Parents to combine with a steadfast adherence to her own convictions, a spirit of comprehensive charity and impartial toleration for the various modes of religious belief.

"May every blessing, temporal and spiritual, accompany your Child and her Husband to their future home, and in these favoured isles descend on your Royal Highness, on our honoured and excellent Sovereign the Queen, and on every Member of your Royal House."

The Prince Consort read the following Reply :

"I thank you heartily for your kind and gratifying Address. The warm interest you thus display in the happiness of my beloved Daughter, and the assurance of your loyal and affectionate attachment to the Queen and her Family, cannot but be most grateful to me ; and most sincerely do I unite with you in the prayer that the Princess's marriage with a Prince, who, as I fondly cherish the belief, merits her most devoted affection, may further bind each other in an equal love of constitutional liberty, and in the same spirit of comprehensive Christian charity, two nations of a kindred race and common faith."

Similar Addresses of congratulation were presented on the same day to the Queen by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Corporation of the City of London, the Commission of Lieutenancy, and the Three Denominations of Protestant Dissenters ; and to the Prince Consort by the City Corporation and the Commission of Lieutenancy.

On the 11th, the Revds. J. J. Tayler and Dr. Sadler waited on the Prussian Ambassador, Count Bernstorff, to deliver the following Addresses from the Body of English Presbyterian Ministers to the Prince and Princess Frederick William of Prussia :

"To His Royal Highness the Prince Frederick William of Prussia.

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"We, the Body of Presbyterian Ministers residing in and about the cities of London and Westminster, beg to present our warm congratulations to your Royal Highness on your alliance with the first-born of our beloved Queen.

"In no way could the English nation more truly express its high esteem for your Royal Highness than by the confidence universally manifested in your Royal Highness as the Husband of our amiable and illustrious Princess Royal.

"In your constant efforts to promote the welfare and happiness of your Royal Bride, your Royal Highness will not only be carrying out the natural dictates of your own feelings, but also ensuring the gratitude and attachment of a great, free and loyal people.

"From the exalted position of your Royal Highness in a powerful and enlightened country, we cannot but hope this alliance will strengthen the friendly feeling between the English and Prussian nations, foster enlarged and liberal principles, and tend to advance peace, good-will, civilization and moral and religious progress, in Europe and throughout the world.

"Long may your Royal Highness be spared to realize these cherished hopes, to enjoy the domestic happiness on which you have entered, and to rejoice in the blessing of the King of kings."

"To Her Royal Highness the Princess Frederick William of Prussia.

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"We, the Body of Presbyterian Ministers in and about the cities of London and Westminster, avail ourselves of an ancient and much-valued privilege to present to your Royal Highness our heartfelt congratulations on the auspicious occasion of your Marriage with His Royal Highness Prince Frederick William of Prussia, and to express our earnest wishes for the welfare and happiness of your Royal Highness in your new and distant home.

"As the first-born of our beloved Queen, your Royal Highness has an especial place in the heart of this nation ; but your Royal Highness has not quitted these shores without having by your own conduct and character confirmed the natural attachment of England to your person, and impressed the conviction that your Royal Highness will fill with honour your present exalted position, and shed an influence which will be felt by the lowliest as well as the highest in the land of your abode.

"Should your Royal Highness at some distant time be called upon, in conjunction with your Royal Consort, to occupy a yet more elevated and responsible position, we are persuaded you will follow in the footsteps of one, whose example has been daily before your Royal Highness from your earliest years, and who, while standing in the closest relation to yourself, has

become endeared to the hearts of her whole people.

"We know not how we can ask more for the future home of your Royal Highness than that it may be graced with those virtues and brightened by that happiness which by God's blessing have distinguished the home which your Royal Highness has left.

"May the favour and benediction of Almighty God rest on your Royal Highness and your Illustrious Husband in time and in eternity."

ORDINATION AT PRESTON.

The Rev. W. C. Squier, late student of the Home Missionary Board, was publicly recognized as pastor of the Unitarian congregation at Preston, on the evening of Wednesday, February 10, 1858. The occasion was felt to be one of great interest, and the chapel was crowded by a serious and attentive congregation. The services were in the following order: Introductory prayer, selections from the Scriptures and introductory address, by Rev. Francis Bishop; prayer of ordination, by Rev. J. H. Hutton, B.A.; charge to the minister, by Rev. Dr. Beard; address to the congregation and concluding prayer, by Rev. W. Gaskell, M.A.—Mr. Bishop founded his address on the words, "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few." Jesus had compassion on the multitudes because they fainted and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd. He had compassion on them not only nor chiefly on account of their physical destitution. He saw in them a faintness which was not of the body—a scatteredness which related not to the mere physical dispersion—a destitution of the necessities of life which referred not to the wants and organs of the outward or mortal frame. He pitied them not the less, but the more, because these were evils of which they themselves were unconscious. The wants and evils of their physical condition were affecting representative of the deeper though unfelt destitution of their mental and spiritual lot. This destitution it was the primal object of his mission to remove, and to this end were his disciples to be sent forth as labourers among the multitudes. The harvest was still great, and the labourers few. Both the intimations of Scripture and the wants of man demanded the continuance of the ministerial office. It was necessary that an order of men should exist whose special business it should be to be labourers in the great harvest. They were met that evening to inaugurate a Christian minister into the sacred office of

pastor of that church and congregation. They met to give the hand of fellowship to their young friend and brother in no assumption of authority or priestly rule, as though they had the power to give or withhold the commission to preach the gospel. The true ordination of a minister was the baptism of the spirit; his only justifying call to the work was that which came from the still small voice speaking within his own soul. Where there was love to God and Christ,—where there was a warm concern for man's immortal interests,—where there was a heart impressed with the supreme value of religious principle, and filled with longings to proclaim among men a dying and a risen Saviour,—there were the main qualifications for the ministerial office, and the free invitation of a Christian people was all that was needed to warrant the fulfilment of its duties. They were met there then chiefly as a manifestation of their sympathy with, and their affectionate recognition of, their young brother—as an expression of their desire to welcome him to a common field, and to shew those tokens of fraternal regard and interest, which might help to cheer his heart and send him on his way rejoicing.

Dr. Beard took his text from Isaiah lii. 7: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!" The heart of man responds gratefully and joyously to the welcome tidings of salvation brought from the King of kings by Jesus, the herald of his love. Never will there fail voices to utter the only true doxology, Glory to God, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit. It was thought by many that the present day was unfavourable for the diffusion of the gospel faith, and that a godless philosophy had indisposed men to listen to the gospel message. But religion is too deeply rooted in the human heart to be thus expelled. The soul moulded by the Divine hand ever retains the impress of that hand. It was true that many persons, both in city and country, stood aloof from all religious organizations. But this did not prove that God's message is no longer welcome to the heart of man. That message only required to be known and understood as the good tidings originally proclaimed by the Son of Man and Son of God, to be heartily embraced and made the life of life. Dr. Beard then proceeded to shew, with much eloquence and beauty of illustration, how both the message and the Messenger were of such a character as to call forth a joyous response in the soul

of man, whilst they satisfied his highest aspirations, relieved him of his heaviest burdens, answered the profoundest questionings of his nature, and sent him on his way rejoicing. In conclusion, he applied his remarks to the occasion. When the Master's spirit is in the soul of the preacher of God's word, then is he a preacher indeed. The power of the minister is not in education, learning, culture: these, though important, are but secondary: his power is in his devotion to and in his love for his work. He therefore entreated and charged his young friend to be faithful—faithful to himself, otherwise he could not be faithful to others. Let him be what he would make others. Let him be in word only what he was in heart; and let him utter nothing to others that had not its corresponding reality within his own soul. He was not sent merely to that church, but to all who asked the bread of life, to all who were in sin and sorrow, to all who were in darkness and longed for light. Let him go forth with his feet shod with the gospel of the preparation of peace, and bear good tidings to the homes and hearts of men. He (Dr. B.) spoke in confidence that he would thus fulfil his mission, and go forth to his great and honourable work with a humble and trusting heart, relying on the living God.

Mr. Gaskell's text was Psalm cxxix. 8: "The blessing of the Lord be upon you: we bless you in the name of the Lord." He took it for granted that his hearers did not wish the service of that evening to be an idle form, but that it should help to give the best consecration to the relationship which had been formed between them and their minister. It was a relationship of a very important and solemn nature. The Christian minister had to speak to them of the highest truths and interests of their being. It depended on themselves whether they would receive them and act upon them. The minister could not work for them, but only with them. Let them not mar their own work, but try, by their co-operation, to make their minister as efficient a servant to them as they possibly could. Many had no idea of the difficulties and discouragements of a young minister. They knew not of his secret labours and anxieties, nor of the solemn questionings that must often arise within him as to whether he was doing all that he could for dying souls. Let them then strengthen and cheer him by their sympathy, and by the performance of their own duties. Let them not be absent from their places in the church except for a valid reason, and let them always strive to have the spirit of devotion

while engaged in worship. As a Christian society they had relations to their fellow-men, and whilst they should ever cultivate the spirit of charity, they should never be ashamed of their faith as Unitarian Christians. They had to work to build up their own church. They might not all be able to do alike; but they could all do something. The man who had no time to give, might give his money; and he who had no money, might give time. Their progress would very much depend on their own faithfulness and on the spirit by which they were animated. They should look kindly on their minister's efforts, and not by a spirit of cold criticism or inattention and apathy damp his enthusiasm and paralyze his energies.

The services occupied nearly three hours, but we believe no sense of weariness was felt, so cordial was the spirit which evidently pervaded the congregation. The young minister must have felt strengthened and encouraged by the sympathy and welcome which were given him, and his congregation must have been quickened to a more lively apprehension of their duties, and a greater desire to fulfil them, by the faithful words with which they were addressed. To the visitors the occasion was made agreeable by the friendly hospitalities of the society, as well as by the glad hopes which the proceedings awakened for the future.

RECENT MINISTERIAL CHANGES AND APPOINTMENTS.

We omitted last year making our annual statement on this subject, and have therefore now to record the changes of two years. Our correspondents will oblige us by pointing out omissions or errors, if they discover any.

Altringham and Hale—Rev. J. T. Whitehead, formerly a student of Manchester New College, has succeeded Rev. Charles Wallace, M.A.

Billinghurst—vacant by removal to Diss of Rev. John Ellis.

Birkenhead—vacant by the retirement from the ministry of Dr. Pope.

Blackly—vacant by resignation of Rev. J. J. Bishop.

Bridgwater—Rev. A. W. Worthington, B.A., has succeeded Rev. S. A. Steinthal, removed to the Domestic Mission, Liverpool.

Bristol—Rev. R. C. Jones, B.A., assistant minister.

Chester—Rev. S. F. Macdonald succeeded the late Rev. James Malcolm.

Canterbury—Rev. R. Harris, of Warminster, succeeded Rev. R. B. Maclellan.

Chesterfield.—Rev. Francis Bishop is about to succeed Rev. A. T. Blythe, who has conformed to the Established Church.

Chorley.—Rev. James Bayley has removed from Stockport, as successor of Rev. H. Clarke, who has resigned the ministry.

Creukerne.—vacant by resignation of Rev. J. B. Fletcher.

Devonport.—Rev. F. W. Stevens resigned; the place supplied by lay preachers.

Diss.—Rev. John Ellis, removed from Billingham.

Dudley.—Rev. S. Davison, B.A., Ph.D., late Classical tutor at Carmarthen.

Dukinfield.—will be vacant at Midsummer by the removal of Rev. R. B. Aspland, M.A., to Hackney.

Flagg.—Rev. W. Birks has succeeded Rev. W. Sutherland, who has removed to Welton.

Gloucester.—Rev. J. G. Teggin, removed from Mansfield, succeeded Rev. Lindsey Taplin.

Hapton.—Rev. James Knapton, of Idle, succeeded the late Rev. W. Selby.

Hackney.—Rev. T. L. Marshall, resigned, will be succeeded at Midsummer by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A.

Idle.—Rev. A. M'Combe succeeded Rev. James Knapton.

Hinckley.—Rev. William Newton.

Kingswood (Worcestershire).—vacant by resignation of Rev. William Bowen, M.A.

Kirkstead.—vacant by death of Rev. Griffith Roberts.

Lewes.—Rev. Thomas Carter succeeded Rev. J. Robertson.

Liverpool.—Rev. S. A. Steintal removed from Bridgwater to succeed Rev. F. Bishop in the Domestic Mission.

Liverpool.—Rev. J. H. Thom has resumed his ministry to the Renshaw-Street congregation.

Liverpool.—Rev. W. H. Channing takes charge of the Hope-Street pulpit, vacated by Rev. James Martineau, removed to Manchester College, London.

London, Carter Lane.—Rev. Henry Ierson has charge of the pulpit, vacated by Rev. Henry Solly.

London, Stamford Street.—Rev. T. L. Marshall appointed.

London Domestic Mission, Chapel St..—Mr. Broome, of the Home Missionary Board, succeeds Rev. W. Vidler.

Loughborough.—Rev. C. C. Coe, of Leicester, undertakes the duties of the pulpit vacated by Rev. T. C. Holland.

Lynn.—Rev. William Quinn succeeded Rev. A. Macdonald.

Mansfield.—vacant.

Merthyr Tydvil.—Rev. — Hopkinson, of the Home Missionary Board, succeeds Rev. — Hill, resigned.

Nantwich.—vacant by removal of Rev. T. Bowring to Tamworth.

Newbury.—Rev. Richard Shelley succeeded Rev. F. R. Young.

Northampton.—Rev. J. Rogers appointed.

Oldbury.—Mr. McKean, of the Home Missionary Board, to assist his father.

Park Lane.—vacant by death of Rev. F. Knowles.

Preston.—Rev. W. C. Squier, of the Home Missionary Board, succeeds Rev. Joseph Ashton.

Pudsey, Stanningley, and Windhill.—supplied by Rev. E. Haigh, the missionary of the West-Riding Tract Society.

Rochdale.—Rev. W. Smith has intimated his intention to resign the pulpit.

Stockport.—vacant by removal of Rev. J. Bayley to Chorley.

Swansea.—Rev. Edward Higginson, of Wakefield, succeeds to the pulpit resigned by Rev. M. Gibson.

Tamworth.—Rev. T. Bowring, of Nantwich, has succeeded the late Rev. William Parkinson.

Wakefield.—vacant in April by removal of Rev. Edward Higginson to Swansea.

Welton.—Rev. W. Sutherland, of Flagg.

Yevil.—Rev. F. R. Young, removed from Newbury.

OXFORD MIDDLE-CLASS EXAMINATIONS.

The University of Oxford has published the "Regulations for carrying into effect the Statute concerning the Examination of those who are not Members of the University." The Examination will commence on Monday, June 21, 1858, at Oxford, and at other places to which the privilege may be extended. Local Committees desirous of having Examinations held in their several districts, must apply on or before March 1, 1858, specifying the probable number of their candidates. The candidates will be divided into a junior class (each paying a fee of 10s.) and a senior class (each paying a fee of 30s.). For the junior class, candidates must be under 15 years of age. The Examination will include English reading; writing from dictation; the analysis and parsing of a passage taken from Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, with questions on the allusions in the poem; English composition practically tested; arithmetic; the geography of England, Scotland, Ireland, Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, South America, Australasia. *An Examination will also be taken (except in cases where parents or guardians of candidates have declined it) in the Rudiments of Faith and Religion, to consist of questions in Genesis, Exodus, Matthew and Acts of the Apostles, and in the Catechism, the Morn-*

ing and Evening Services, and the Litany. Papers will also be set in the eight following subjects, in one (at least) of which each candidate must be examined; no candidate will, however, be examined in more than four. 1. Latin (*Cæsar de Bello Gallico*, B. i. ii. iii.). 2. Greek (*Xenophon's Anabasis*, B. i. ii.). 3. French. 4. German. 5. Mathematics (*Euclid*, B. i. ii.; *Arithmetic*; *Algebra to Simple Equations*, &c.). 6. Mechanics and Mechanism. 7. Chemistry. 8. Botany and Zoology. The names of successful candidates will be arranged in three divisions: 1, in the order of merit; 2 and 3, alphabetically. The fact of having passed the Religious Examination will be entered on the certificate, but will not affect the candidate's place on the list.—Candidates in the senior class must be under 18 years of age. They will be examined in the analysis of English Language, Composition, Arithmetic, Geography and English History. *The Religious Examination will include Historical Scriptures of the Old Testament to death of Solomon; Matthew, John and Acts; the Greek Testament (in the case of those who profess the Greek language); the Catechism, the Morning and Evening Services and the Litany, and the outlines of the History of the Book of Common Prayer.* Every candidate will also be required to satisfy the Examiners in two, at least, of the sections marked A, B, C, D, or in one of those four and in one of those marked E, F. Section A. English—History and Literature; *Shakspeare's King Lear* and *Bacon's Essays*; outlines of Political Economy (*Smith's Wealth of Nations*, B. i.), and English Law (*Blackstone's Commentaries*, Vol. I.); Geography, physical, political and commercial. Section B. A fair knowledge of either Latin, Greek, French or German. Section C. Mathematics. Section D. Physics—Natural Philosophy (mechanical drawing); Chemistry (facts and general principles); elements of Analysis; Vegetable and Animal Physiology; description of Vertebrata; Botanical and Anatomical Drawing. Section E. Drawing and Architecture. Section F. Music; its grammar, and the history and principles of musical composition and the elements of thorough Bass. Lists of distinguished candidates will be published, one in the order of merit, the other in alphabetical order. The names of other successful candidates will be printed in a general alphabetical list. Every candidate who passes will receive the Chancellor's certificate, conferring the title of *Associate in Arts*, and specifying the subjects in which he has satisfied the Examiners.

This plan has much that must commend

itself to all who are desirous of seeing the standard of education raised in the country. It has found large favour in the country, is praised by some for its wisdom and liberality, and is pronounced well adapted to the present requirements of the people at large. Even Dissenters have joined in this praise. But others, and men of large experience and well-established principles, see grounds for objecting. We subjoin the answer sent by a gentleman of high position in Lancashire to a request that he would join in a Memorial to Oxford in favour of the scheme. We shall be very glad to see the subject discussed in our pages by thoughtful men, anxious to promote education and maintain religious freedom.

“February 19, 1858.

“Sir,—Had the Memorial which you have sent me been in favour of Examinations in what is termed secular knowledge only, I should probably have had little hesitation in signing it, as you request.

“But the scheme involves Examination in the Rudiments of Faith and Religion; to which, however, a note is appended, stating that this Examination will not be required of any candidate whose parents or guardians shall have declined it on his behalf.

“This Examination, be it observed, includes the Catechism, the Morning and Evening Services, and the Litany.

“Were I to give my name in support of a measure which lays down such instruction as the general rule, to be dispensed with only when specially declined, I should be acting in direct opposition to principles which I have held through life, and I shall be sorry if such a measure meets with any general acceptance.”

THE SOCIETY OF THE HAGUE FOR THE DEFENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.

This Society, which annually gives prizes for the best essays on theological subjects, has just announced its programme for the coming year. A gold medal worth 800 francs (about £32) will be given for the best treatise on each of the following questions:

To be sent in before 1st September, 1858, a Book of Devotion, developing and seriously recommending a rational and edifying conception of Evangelical truth, in contradistinction to a tendency more dogmatical and mystical. The æsthetic and literary side is strongly recommended to competitors.

To be sent in before 15th December, 1858:—1. A History of the Synodic Presbyterian system in the Reformed Church

of the Low Countries, indicating its origin, development and progress up to our own time, and calculating the success it has obtained beyond this Church.

2. What was the Teaching of Arius, and his early disciples, relative to the Person of Christ? In what forms of later doctrine has Arianism re-clothed itself? What should be the judgment of an impartial criticism on this system, taken from the point of view of exegesis and dogma?

3. What is the probable future of the Jewish people in this world?

4. A dissertation, establishing on probable grounds the connection of the Gospel of Matthew with the Logia, and fixing the rules to be followed for distinguishing the elements of different date included in the Gospel of Matthew.

The papers must be written in Latin, French, Dutch or German, and sent in anonymously, with a motto, to M. W. A. Van Hengel, professor at Leyden.

OBITUARY.

1857. Dec. 31, at his residence, Lincoln, in the 75th year of his age, Rev. GRIFFITH ROBERTS, who has been for twenty-one years the minister of the Presbyterian chapel at Kirkstead, in the same county. Of his birth and parentage we can give no particulars. He was one of the early pupils of Rev. Charles Wellbeloved at Manchester College, York, entering, we believe, that institution in 1805, in company with Mr. Hunter, the late Mr. Robberds and Mr. Madge. He settled in 1808 as minister of the small congregation at Warminster, succeeding the Rev. Theophilus Browne. Here he remained till the year 1825, when he removed to Hackney and established an academy for young gentlemen. Having no pastoral charge at this time, he frequently officiated as an occasional supply in the pupils in London, at Hackney and neighbouring places. Good sense, rather than brilliancy or eloquence, was the characteristic of his discourses, and his elocution did not set them off to the best advantage. But his intelligence and amiability made him in general society always a welcome guest. In 1830, he again changed his residence, and removed with his family to Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he took charge of the Unitarian congregation. On the death of the late Rev. Richard Wright, he succeeded that able and excellent man as minister at Kirkstead. Mr. Roberts retained his powers to the close of his days. A few hours' illness on the last day of the year terminated a life which, if unmarked by any striking events, was as peaceful and happy as it was virtuous. His loss is bewailed by a widow and one son, who as a student of Manchester New College distinguished himself by obtaining the Gold Medal in the University of London. But he shortly after gave up the ministry and devoted himself to the profession of the law. We are not aware that Rev. Griffith Roberts ever committed anything to the press.

Jan. 10, at Sheffield, in the 57th year of his age, the Rev. BARTHOLOMEW TEELING STANNUS. He was born at Ballyclare, North of Ireland, in September, 1801. His father was a revenue officer, and is remembered as having been a very clear-headed, respectable man, fond of reading. In religious opinion he was a Wesleyan Methodist, and occasionally occupied the office of class-leader in that denomination. His mother, who is described as an excellent woman, was also an earnest member of the same religious communion. She was personally acquainted with John Wesley, who probably, in his missionary travels, would be an occasional inmate of her father's house, he being considered the leading man of that body in Carrickfergus. Both father and mother manifested literary tastes even beyond their time and station—characteristics which, in various forms, have distinguished their descendants even to the third generation. Bartholomew was the youngest child of a large family, all of whom remained in after life Wesleyan Methodists. At an early age the parents of Bartholomew Teeling Stannus removed from Ballyclare to Carrickfergus, and in that town he was brought up. His Christian names were given him in respect for an earnest individual who bore an active part in the stormy political struggles of the period just antecedent to his birth. The early portions of his school education were conducted by Dr. Paul, a Covenantanting minister, and Mr. Johnston Neilson, a Unitarian probationer. His college education he pursued at the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. He entered its classes in 1821, continuing a student regularly through its prescribed course of instruction till 1825. During that course, B. T. S. obtained the silver medal of the Institution for proficiency in elocution in 1823; and in the same year became day assistant in the English department, of which the Rev. Henry Montgomery was for so many years the distinguished and admirable

Head Master. The theological portion of his collegiate education was pursued under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Hanna, Professor of Theology, in connection with the General Synod of Ulster. From that body he received his licence to teach and preach the gospel. It was given him by the Presbytery of Bangor in 1825. In the same year he became the principal resident assistant to Dr. Montgomery in the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, and continued to act in that capacity till his marriage. On the decease of the Rev. W. D. H. M'Ewen, 1828, he was elected to succeed him as Lecturer on Eloquence and Teacher of Elocution in the Institution, and occupied that position till 1831, acting likewise again as day assistant in the English department. As a student of the Institution and assistant in the English department, his fidelity and efficiency were rewarded by increased facilities for attending classes and the reception also of private tuition. He secured, by his promising talents and abilities, the sincere and warm regard of his Superior, as well as of his family.

This eventful period of Mr. Stannus's life was also an eventful period for the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. In those years began the suspicions and surmisings and disclosures respecting "the infection of Arianism" among its ministers and elders, which speedily thereafter led to the attempted infraction on the comparative religious tolerance and freedom which had hitherto prevailed in that community, an infraction which ultimately rent in twain its members and congregations. It could not be but that the noble declarations and efforts of the true-hearted men determined to stand fast in the liberty wherewith the Son of God makes free,—and more especially the incomparable defences of religious freedom uttered in the assembly by his personal friend, whose assistant in the English department of the Belfast Institution he at that time was,—should make deep impression on a young and generous spirit. Though licensed to preach by a Presbytery of the Synod, and frequently invited to occupy their pulpits by various of its members, he resolutely refused, ultimately throwing off all connection with it, and casting in his lot with the ill-treated and proscribed Remonstrants.

On the earnest recommendation of his friend, the Rev. Henry Montgomery, in 1831, Mr. Stannus was unanimously chosen minister of the Unitarian congregation of Edinburgh, then assembling in the chapel in Young Street, in that city; and entered on the arduous duties of the situation, August 14, 1831. On the 3rd of October

of that year, Mr. Stannus attended the first anniversary of the Scottish Unitarian Christian Association, which was celebrated at Glasgow. The religious services of the preceding day, Sunday, October 2, had been conducted by the then Moderator of the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster, the true-hearted and free-spoken Rev. Fletcher Blakely, of Moneyrea, and the Rev. Henry Clarke, of Lancashire. Mr. Stannus opened the proceedings of the public meeting, held in the chapel, by giving out a hymn and engaging in prayer. On moving a resolution embodying the great principle of Protestantism, "The Bible, and the Bible only," he powerfully impressed the meeting by the eloquence and fervour of his manly and scriptural address. In its course he made this personal reference to his change of religious opinions: "I was at one time as decidedly opposed to the tenets of Unitarianism as any Presbyterian in Scotland. 'After the strictest sect of our religion, I lived a' Calvinist; but I read my Bible; I diligently compared it with the received standards of faith; I discovered that the principles of Unitarianism were grossly misrepresented; I saw that the doctrine of a triune God, and other perversions of the facts and doctrines of Scripture, were to be found only in human formularies; I therefore laid these aside, and now, with Paul, 'I confess unto thee that after the way which some call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets.' I was persuaded that the vitality of the gospel did not exist in wrong interpretations, but in its own pure doctrines, and it was a matter of regret that the massy bullion of Scripture should be frittered away into the flagrant work of creeds and confessions. It is not these which recommend Christianity to our love; and should my religion be made the object of attack, human formularies are not the weapons by which I should endeavour to defend it; I should appeal for its scripturality to the inspired word of God. In attack on our principles, the *first* point of safety is to stand by the Bible, and the *second* point of safety is to stand by the Bible, and the *third* point of safety is to stand by the Bible."

In November of 1831, Mr. Stannus began a course of lectures in the chapel in Young Street, Edinburgh. They excited considerable attention, and attracted crowded audiences. Their very announcement involved him in controversy with the Rev. Dr. John Ritchie, who denounced them as "blasphemous." The "Accuser of the Brethren" was pithily and thoroughly answered; nor less completely, in the fol-

lowing year, the "Caledonian Mercury," on its iteration of similar slanders. At the close of 1832, Mr. Stannus yielded to the request made for the publication of a sermon, which he entitled, "The Wanderings of Christendom," which he had preached at the meeting of the Scottish Association of the previous summer, and in which were clearly traced the uprisings of error in the Christian church, and the superstition and bigotry which had thence accumulated; and in which also, with a spirit of Christian hope, were pointed out the promises of light breaking in upon the darkness, the coming overthrow of everything opposed to Christian purity and truth and benevolence, and the final, universal prevalence of true Christian principle and practice. The ministry of Mr. Stannus in Edinburgh was accompanied and crowned by considerable success. It led to the proposal to build another chapel, possessing more ample accommodation than that of Young Street, and occupying more public locality. Through his personal labours and exertions, the proposal became reality. St. Mark's chapel is the enduring memorial of those labours, as well as of the taste in art, which was one of his characteristics. By a long and successful journey of appeal for help among the congregations of England in aid of the pecuniary contributions the members of the society had themselves given towards effecting this object, combined with the sum the Young-Street chapel produced by its sale, the completion of the new building was secured. On Sunday, October 18, 1835, the first religious services within its walls were conducted by the Rev. George Harris, of Glasgow, Mr. Stannus preaching in the afternoon, and Mr. Harris again preaching in the evening. Mr. Stannus continued to prosecute his ministry in Edinburgh till the spring of 1838, when it was brought to a close by his acceptance of an invitation from the Unitarian congregation and trustees assembling at the chapel, Norfolk Street, Sheffield. Before leaving Edinburgh for his future home, the congregation bore testimony to his "great talents and valuable services," and to the "many accessions" which had thereby been made to their number through the exercise of his ministry in that city, accompanying their address by the presentation of a Tea Service of silver.

Mr. Stannus's connection with the congregation at Sheffield was productive of similar results, and bore in many respects corresponding fruit. It is but few Unitarian ministers who have been privileged in being instrumental in the erection of even one new Unitarian chapel; Mr. Stan-

nus was distinguished by two such seals to his ministry. The congregation at Sheffield was stimulated by his energy and their own responsive zeal, to replace the old building, in which they and their fathers had for long years worshiped, by the erection of a chapel more ample and convenient, and partaking of the simple elegance which would set forth the faith it enshrined to greater public attraction and advantage. The adjacent school-rooms also participated in the reformation. With what untiring ardour and assiduity the plans and progress of re-construction were engaged in and superintended by him, Sheffield can bear witness. It was a time of refreshing to his spirit when this new labour of love was happily accomplished, and the friend and tutor of his youth came to rejoice with him in the joy of his manhood, and to assist by his presence and services at the opening of the second temple Mr. Stannus had happily been instrumental in rearing to the undivided worship of the One True God, the Father. The Rev. Dr. Montgomery conducted the opening services of the new chapel at Sheffield; and a new course of Christian usefulness seemed to dawn upon its active and healthful minister.

How bounded are human prospects! how fallacious are human hopes! Unexpected and unthought-of troubles arise to chequer the course of earthly condition, and try and purify the character; and embryo disease lurks in and undermines even apparently the finest and most florid constitution. Sorrows came, and they worked their way into the very soul. Afflictions that "the world wots not of," sorely tried and grieved a sensitive and sympathizing spirit. And the once seemingly iron constitution yielded to their might; and disease overpowered the strong man, and he was shorn of his strength. It was hoped he might revive and "recover before he was called hence." Every attention that could be paid, every assistance that could be given, was most readily proffered. But incapacity for further exercise of his public ministry became at length indisputable. And it was reluctantly resigned. Special and generous provision was made by the congregation to ensure personal comfort to him. Their Christian kindness was feelingly appreciated through its lengthened manifestations. He did partially revive and recover. He interested himself in many things. Old pursuits re-awakened interest in his mind. Works of art had still their charms in his eyes. And he could write upon them again, and depict them truthfully and well. And so, during the wearying

and lingering illness of many years, the life went on, having its intervals of comparative alleviation and pleasure—yea, even of enjoyment. With exemplary patience and Christian cheerfulness, he bore all the sufferings allotted to him. He knew in whom he trusted, and believed that all was mercifully designed. A few months before his decease, he visited once more his beloved Ireland. He longed to see it once again, and his wish was gratified. He came back to Sheffield to die. For six weeks especially, the attacks of disease, that of the heart and lungs, were alarming and incessant. All his friends vied with each other in their kind attentions. Every comfort was abundantly supplied. But the solemn call came nearer and more near. It was calmly recognized by the sufferer, who happily retained consciousness to the latest moment of life, and peacefully obeyed the summons of the Father. The funeral was attended, on the following Friday, January 15, by the whole congregation, accompanied by many friends of other communions; and on the Sunday thereafter, the Rev. Brooke Herford, the present esteemed minister of the Upper chapel, preached to a crowded congregation a discourse full of Christian consolation and godly hope.—Our departed friend was in many respects an extraordinary man. He possessed various accomplishments which seldom meet in one individual. He was an accomplished English scholar; no mean poet, as several contributions to the “*Christian Pioneer*” and other publications testify; his taste and practical skill in art were of no slight order, his descriptions of Art Exhibitions being valuable, and sought for, and relied on; his knowledge and practice of music, both vocal and instrumental, were good; his lectures before various Institutions were in much request; his companionship was interesting and genial; his friendships warm, his affections ardent. He was an excellent and effective preacher. His Christian faith firm and buoyant, “rejoicing in hope.” His trust in the resurrection constant and unswerving. He felt its power, even in much tribulation. The spirit and power too of his own poetry, may it sustain and bless all who knew and valued and loved him living!

“What though our loved ones tenant the tomb,
They will rise to their home, in freshened bloom;
The sons of God, though time speeds away,
Shall live and love through eternal day.
This, while the tides of mortality roll,

Like the bow of heaven, speaks peace to the soul.

Oh, that imbued with our Father’s love,
Our thoughts were winged to worlds above,

We could gaze upon the realms of the blest,

And long to be for ever at rest!”

We learn from a friendly correspondent that the Rev. John Gordon, of Edinburgh, preached a sermon in St. Mark’s chapel, on Sunday, January 24, suggested by the death of Mr. Stannus. He stated that his ministry in Edinburgh was, he understood, more notable in its effects than that of any other person who has stood in his position. During it, the congregation was larger than it ever was before, or has been since. The present chapel was built under the more favourable influences which it embraced, and at one period of it, the most sanguine expectations were reasonably entertained as to the progressive establishment of the distinctive principles by whose advocacy it was marked. Mr. Gordon proceeded to draw a character of Mr. Stannus, describing him as “a man of a genial and open temper, possessed of refined education and many accomplishments, and especially endowed with correct taste in art. He was full of wit and humour, and had a strong zest for the natural pleasures of life; but he was also unaffectedly attached to the religious doctrines he professed, and distinguished for an eloquence in the discharge of his pulpit duties, to the power of which few have been able to approach. His manners and habits were calculated to give to those who judge by conventional rules, a very imperfect idea of the strength of his Christian faith; but when tried by a long and painful affliction, that faith fully stood the test, being found sufficient for support and consolation and religious joy, till he was called to his eternal rest. As a striking preacher, who deeply felt what he earnestly applied, he will never be forgotten by those who heard him; and, among his intimate friends, he will continue to be esteemed and loved for a purity of purpose and warmth of heart which redeemed whatever faults he might have had. If, during the latter years of his life, his name was seldom uttered in the public ear, it was because he was appointed, in the course of Providence, to bear, rather than to act; and great as was the admiration which he won in the zenith of his popularity, he reaped a higher reward when, in the seclusion of his sickness, he proved faithful to the truth, that
“They also serve, who only stand and wait.”

Jan. 20, at her residence, Park Street, Macclesfield, in her 73rd year, MARY, relict of John STANSFIELD, Esq.

Jan. 28, at Great Yarmouth, in the county of Norfolk, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, at the advanced age of 95. In the subject of this notice we have a remarkable instance of piety, energy and intelligence, rising above humble and unfavourable circumstances. He was born at Woodbridge, in the county of Suffolk, Jan. 5, 1763. He was brought up to his father's trade as a shoemaker, at which he continued till the age of 24, when he went as an assistant, and also for instruction, to a schoolmaster. In the year 1789, he opened a school at the neighbouring village of Yoxford. But at this time, being led to the careful study of the Scriptures, his mind began to be perplexed by the inconsistencies of the popular orthodoxy. Becoming acquainted with Mr. Lindsey's writings, he obtained an interview with that venerable confessor, and was ever after regarded by Mr. and Mrs. L. with much interest, as appears from various letters in the handwriting of each. They paid for the education of several children at his school, and through Mr. L. he received an annual donation of £10 "from an unknown Friend of great worth and piety," conjectured to be Dr. Priestley. It ceased about the time of Dr. P.'s departure from this country.

In 1792, he married his cousin, Ruth Alexander, by whom he had two daughters, one of whom survives him.

In consequence of his religious scruples, he refused to teach the Church Catechism in his school; and having expressed himself with a freedom which Mr. Lindsey endeavours to check on the subject of Paine's writings, he became an object of suspicion and dislike to the little great ones of the village. The feeling became so strong, that he was obliged to leave Yoxford and return to Woodbridge, in 1794. His father, who had at first been vexed by what he thought his strange ideas on religious subjects, finally joined with him in adopting Unitarian sentiments. Mr. Lindsey's kind advice and assistance to him, both spiritual and legal, in these trying circumstances, were uniform and valuable. He cautions him against stating his opinions openly in all companies. "This is the more necessary for you to attend to, as your innocence makes you unsuspecting, and you do not dislike talking." In another letter, he plainly expresses his suspicion that that which he had just received from him had been opened at the Post-office!

Although his health was much shaken by this persecution, on re-opening school at Woodbridge he attached a bookseller's shop to the house, had it licensed as a place of worship, and conducted divine service in it, making use of the Reformed Liturgy. Here he lived much respected, supporting his father and his family; till, being recommended to try a larger town, he removed to Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, in the year 1809. In the previous year he had received a letter from Mrs. Lindsey, which contains a touching account of the last moments of his valued friend. His first wife dying in 1827, in 1829 he married Elizabeth Moy, who had for many years been a valuable help to him in his business, that of a bookseller and stationer, and who survives the aged pilgrim whose last years she carefully and affectionately tended.

Mr. Alexander felt a strong interest in many of the important social questions of the day. The execution of a boy of fourteen for being concerned in Lord George Gordon's riots, affected him so powerfully, that he drew up a petition to Parliament against capital punishment, which he caused to be presented in several successive sessions; and although he had been robbed on the highway and had suffered loss from forgery, he refused to prosecute. He was anxious for the spread of sound religious and secular education. He printed and reprinted many useful works, and, amongst others, distributed 20,000 copies of a little tract called "Christian Unitarianism." With regard to the authenticity of some portions of the canon of the New Testament, he at one time strongly agreed with the views expressed by Rev. E. Evanston in his "Dissonance of the Evangelists,"—an agreement which Mr. Lindsey wisely counterbalances by the opinion of "some of the ablest men with whom he is acquainted." He occasionally corresponded with some of the more eminent Unitarians at home and abroad, as Drs. Channing, Tuckerman and Dewey, Rammohun Roy, and the Revds. E. Evanston and E. Butler.

The religious doctrine to which he attached the greatest importance was that of the Divine Unity, implying the absolute and unrivalled perfection and the infinite goodness of the Almighty. If he ever erred on the score of charity, it was when that, with its attendant doctrines, was attacked in his presence. Perhaps the most engaging feature of his character was the readiness with which he forgave injuries. If he was desirous of doing good to one person rather than another, it was to one who had greatly wronged him.

Towards the close of his protracted career,

great serenity of mind was conspicuous,—apparently the consequence of perfect trust in his Creator, and of consciousness that his long life had not been spent entirely in vain.

Jan. 28, at Wimbledon, aged 3 years and 10 months, KATHERINE HANNAH, daughter of Francis WANSEY, Esq.

January 30, aged 46 years, Mr. JAMES WOOLLEY, of Summer Place, Lower Broughton, near Manchester, after protracted sufferings, which were borne with manly fortitude and Christian resignation. His mortal remains were interred by the Rev. John R. Beard, D.D., near those of the late Joseph Brotherton, Esq., M.P., on the morning of the 5th of February, in the recently formed Salford Borough Cemetery, Eccles New Road. The service was attended by several highly respected persons, who, having been connected with the deceased in offices of trust and honour, had learnt his true character, and took the opportunity of so manifesting toward him their respect and esteem. Among those present, besides the mourning family, were, as representing the Town Council, Mr. Ivie Mackie, Mayor, Mr. Alderman Heywood, Mr. Alderman Clark, Councilors Rawson, Neill, Pratt and Dyson; as representing the Manchester Committee of the Pharmaceutical Society, Messrs. Standing and Lynch; and as a deputation from the Mechanics' Institution, Messrs. Oliver Heywood, President, J. Manchester, Chairman of the Board of Directors, E. Hutchings, Secretary, and R. Rumney, Director.

On the following Sunday, a suitable discourse was delivered by Dr. Beard, to a large and deeply-affected congregation. The theme of the sermon was Christian Manliness. In illustrating his subject, the preacher took occasion to bring into prominence the principal features of Mr. Woolley's character. Special stress was laid on the sound and thorough religious training through which Mr. Woolley had passed, and which the speaker characterized as to no small extent peculiar to the discipline of our Unitarian homes and schools.

Mr. James Woolley was the fourth child of George and Jenny Woolley, of Dukinfield, near Ashton-under-Lyne, and was born on the 26th day of October, 1811. Before he was nine years old, he was placed for education under the care of his respected uncle, the Rev. James Whitehead, of Ainsworth, near Bolton. When, in 1826, Mr. Whitehead gave up his school, James Woolley was removed to

that of the late Rev. John Gaskell, of Dukinfield. At sixteen years of age, the youth was apprenticed to the late Mr. Samuel Dean, druggist, of Manchester. On finishing his apprenticeship, he entered the University of Edinburgh, where he pursued chiefly those studies which bore on his future profession. About Christmas 1833, he commenced business as Chemist and Druggist in King Street, Manchester; and on the 18th of January, 1836, he entered a family which, like his own, was replete with the invigorating influence of English Presbyterianism, by being united in marriage with Miss Johns, niece of the late excellent and learned Rev. William Johns, of Manchester.

Possessed of a strong and cultivated intellect, knowledge no less exact than ample, of a high moral tone, and gentlemanly manners, Mr. Woolley, on settling in Manchester, commenced a career alike honourable and successful, and by degrees found stations of usefulness and dignity open before him, the duties of which he was prompted by his Christian benevolence to undertake. But here we borrow a few descriptive words transcribed from the Address delivered at the funeral, and printed at the request of the family. Referring to the narrative of the two servants—the faithful and the unfaithful one—the speakers said:

“The parable is the more striking, and ought to be the more impressive, because it accords with our own daily experiences, and shows *that* to be the great law of recompense in the spiritual order of things, which we in our actions constantly recognize in the material. Well, then, may we each ask of ourselves and our God, ‘To which class do I belong?’ To myself the hand of Providence seems this moment to point in answer to that bier. And if I may interpret the indication, it is this: ‘He who lives as thy departed brother lived, lives the life of the faithful servant, and is always ready to meet his lord.’ That our friend was free from frailties and sins is not affirmed. Conscious of his shortcomings, he threw himself unreservedly on God’s mercy in Christ, the Saviour of the world, for pardon and acceptance unto sanctification and eternal life. With this qualification—a qualification necessary for every servant of the great Householder—with this qualification—the character of the deceased may be safely indicated, as a model of the union of Christian principle with the ordinary interests and common transactions of our every-day life. With him the Gospel was an inner power, or rather the inmost power of his soul, which, like the vital fluid, going forth from its

centre in the heart, flowed in hidden channels throughout the moral system, and gave to the moral life its shape, hue, direction, and efficiency. In consequence, the power of Christ was brought to bear on the engagements, the duties, and the interests of our outer and material existence. The bearing was unseen by the ordinary eye, for least of all men was our friend obtrusive of his religion; yet though hidden to most, its influence was felt, even though unconsciously, by all; but whether known or unknown to man, it was beheld, recognized, and approved by God; and well am I assured that it very largely contributed to make him what he was, and so to procure for him the respect of a wide circle, and the esteem of his immediate associates. Here in the main lay the power by which he became a sincere Christian, an honourable man, a useful and valued citizen, a successful tradesman. And to the same influence may be ascribed his large and varied personal culture, and the free use which he made of his abilities for the promotion of objects and institutions tending to elevate the many, to instruct and refine the few, and to dignify human life in general. But here I must pause, and drop a tear over his grave, while I say that he paid dearly for his extreme devotion to one of our most valuable institutions,—wearing down, in its service, strength and energy which it would not have been selfish for him to have hoarded for his family. It is this disinterestedness, however, which displays in him ‘the spirit of Christ,’ and should make his example acceptable to our hearts and powerful in our lives.”

The establishment to which allusion is here made is the Mechanics’ Institution, to the extraordinary and unparalleled success of which Mr. Woolley contributed very largely. Connecting himself with it some eight-and-twenty years ago, at a time when its future depended altogether on faithful and vigorous service, he was foremost among a number of young men who threw their hearts and their energies into the enterprise, and giving to it an impulse which has scarcely for an hour ebbed or abated, have conferred great and lasting benefits on Manchester, and set an example which has not been without effect on the kingdom at large.

It is not proposed here to make mention of the several societies, professional and benevolent, with which Mr. Woolley was associated; but a word or two must be said relative to one means of usefulness for which he was eminently fitted by education and habits of thought. The Manchester Corporation owes its existence to

the efforts of men of Mr. Woolley’s stamp—men of enlarged minds, liberal tendencies, and great force of character, who, lamenting the evils lingering in our social and political institutions, spared no personal sacrifice requisite for their removal. Nowhere have such men abounded during the present century more than in Manchester, nowhere have their labours been rewarded more fully, and nowhere have they left a deeper or more gratifying impress of themselves, than in the large and solid prosperity and the princely munificence of that city and its environs. Brought into existence by these wise and patriotic men, the Manchester Corporation has been so governed and directed as to augment the noble qualities to which it owes its birth. Mr. Woolley entered the Council in 1851, and in November last was elected for the third time to represent the Exchange Ward. At the meeting of the Town Council held February 3rd, 1858,—Ivie Mackie, Esq., Mayor, in the chair, the Town Clerk informed the Council that a vacancy had been created in Exchange Ward by the lamented death of Mr. James Woolley. The Mayor said he had enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Woolley for fourteen years, and he had never come in contact with a gentleman possessing higher or more honourable feelings. In his death the Corporation and the citizens at large had sustained a great loss. On being informed of his decease, the Building and Sanitary Committee, of which Mr. Woolley was Vice-chairman, unanimously passed the following resolution:

“That this Committee have learned with great regret of the decease of their Deputy-Chairman, Mr. Councillor Woolley, by which they are deprived of the valuable assistance of one who always gave the most devoted attention to the business of this Committee, as well as to other departments of the Corporation. At the same time this Committee desire to offer to Mrs. Woolley and the family, their heartfelt condolence under the bereavement which they have suffered by the death of a Husband and Father possessed of such endearing qualities, and whose character ever stood high in the estimation of his colleagues and his fellow-citizens.”

No testimonial could, however, speak to the excellences of the deceased on better warrants or with greater acceptance to his bereaved family, than an address, unanimously adopted on the 7th ultimo, on the motion of Mr. Charles S. Grundy, supported by Mr. Ivie Mackie, at the annual meeting of the Strangeways Unitarian congregation,—a religious society whose welfare Mr. Woolley promoted with equal

prudence and generosity almost until his last hour.

"To Mrs. Woolley.

"Dear Madam,—As Members of the Strangeways Unitarian Congregation, assembled at our annual meeting, we beg most respectfully to tender to you our heartfelt sympathy and our sincere condolence on the irreparable loss you have sustained by the decease of your late Husband, our long-tried friend and fellow-worshiper.

"For more than twenty years Mr. Woolley had been a Member of this Congregation, in the prosperity of which he always manifested the deepest interest, freely contributing of his time, attention and means to its support. We shall long retain a vivid recollection of the many pleasant intercourses with him which we have been permitted to enjoy—of his unvarying courtesy, his clear and independent judgment, his wisdom in counsel and promptitude in action. We feel that to our common cause his death is a heavy blow, and that it devolves upon us a greatly augmented responsibility.

"It is grateful to us to believe that the solicitude which our departed friend invariably manifested for this religious society is inherited by his eldest son and representative, and that he will in every way prove himself worthy of his father, and be to you a solace and a stay.

"We pray, dear Madam, that the con-

solations of religion, and the peace which they alone can give, may be abundantly vouchsafed to you, and that God may ever have you and yours in His holy keeping.

"Signed, on behalf of the Congregation,
JOHN ASHTON, Chairman of the Meeting.

JOHN ARMSTRONG, Chapel-warden.
J. R. BEARD, D.D., Minister."

Jan. 30, aged 4 years, PERCIVAL, youngest son of Darnton LUPTON, Esq., of Leeds.

Feb. 4, at Bridge House, Bridport, aged 53, ELIZA TREBLE, wife of John HOUNSELL, Esq., surgeon.

Feb. 6, at Tillicoultry, Clackmannanshire, aged 73 years, Rev. ARCHIBALD BROWNING, minister of the Unitarian Christian church in that place.

Feb. 9, at his residence in Argyle Square, in his 84th year, JOHN CHRISTIE, Esq., late of Hackney and of Glan Usk, Brecknockshire, of which county he was twice High Sheriff. Mr. Christie was for many years the Treasurer of the Unitarian Fund, and was a zealous promoter of its important objects. We hope to receive from some one of his friends an account of his life and character.

Feb. 11, SARAH, wife of John ATKINSON, Esq., East Parade, Leeds, aged 67 years.

MARRIAGES.

1858. Jan. 5, at the Old chapel, Dukinfield, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., Mr. CHARLES HADFIELD to Miss ESTHER HOWARTH, both of Dukinfield.

Jan. 7, at Cross-Street chapel, Manchester, by Rev. Wm. Gaskell, M.A., THOMAS MAXWELL HUTTON, Esq., of Dublin, to ANNETTE LOUISE, fifth daughter of M. S. MEYER, Esq., of Smedley New Hall.

Jan. 20, at Newington-Green chapel, by Rev. Dr. Cromwell, Mr. T. H. HOVENDEN to MARTHA, eldest daughter of Mr. E. W. LILLEY, of Dalston.

Jan. 28, at the Unitarian chapel, Strangeways, Manchester, by Rev. Dr. Beard, Mr. ALEXANDER WYLDE THORNELY, Stockport, son of the late Mr. William Thornely, of Dukinfield, to ELLEN, second daughter of Mr. Thomas Cook, St. Mary's Gate, Manchester.

Feb. 7, at the Old meeting-house, Bes-

sel's Green, near Sevenoaks, by Rev. John A. Briggs, Mr. HENRY PUCKNELL to ELIZABETH, daughter of Mr. Richard THOMAS.

Feb. 13, at Bank-Street chapel, Bolton, by Rev. Franklin Baker, M.A., Mr. GEO. PERRY to MARY, daughter of the late Mr. L. BENTLEY, of Egerton, near Bolton.

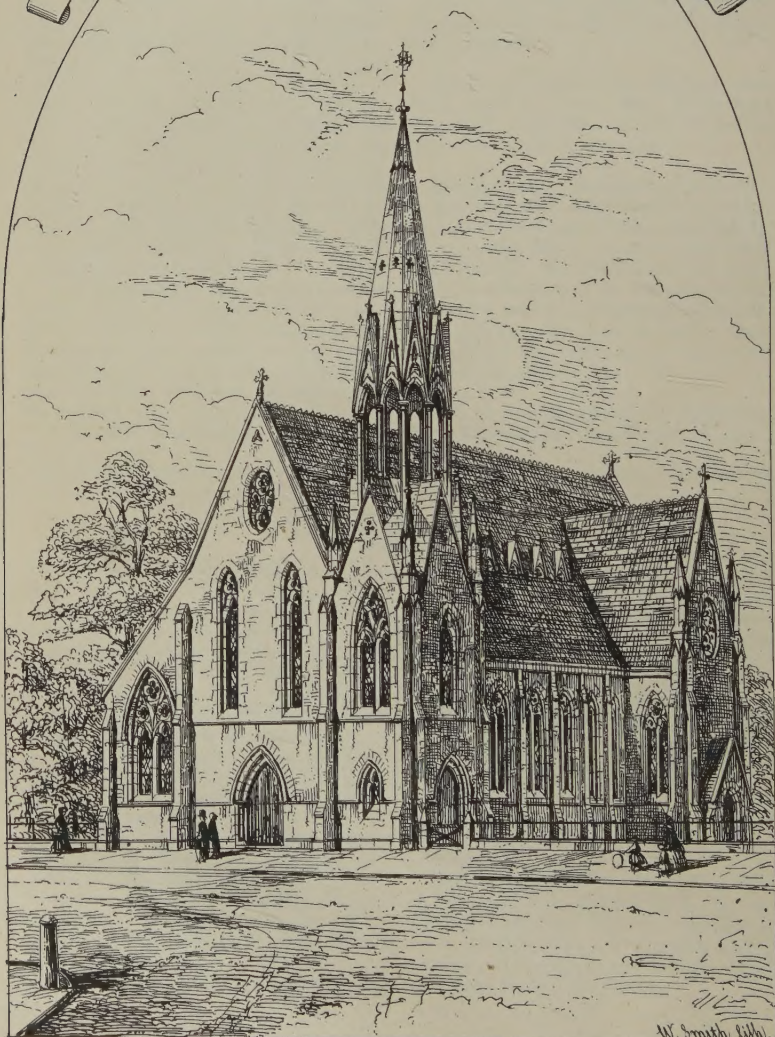
Feb. 14, at the Old chapel, Dukinfield, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., Mr. HUGH BROADBENT to Miss SARAH LEES, both of Stalybridge.

Feb. 15, at the Old chapel, Dukinfield, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., SIMEON SEDDON to MARY MARSH, both of Dukinfield Hall.

Feb. 17, at Dean-Row chapel, Cheshire, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., of Dukinfield, Rev. JOHN COLSTON, minister of Dean Row cum Styal, to ELIZABETH, second daughter of the late Jeremiah LEES, Esq., of Kelsall House, Stalybridge.

Unitarian Church

Hackney. H.D. 1858



H. A. Darbishire, Arch^t

W. Smith Lith.